

Quarterly of the California Historical Society



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Theodore Corbin

Quarterly of the California Historical Society

VOLUME XII • NUMBER 4

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THE MEMOIRS OF THEODOR CORDUA

THE PIONEER OF NEW MECKLENBURG IN THE SACRAMENTO VALLEY

Edited and Translated by Erwin G. Gudde

INTRODUCTION

WHILE there is no dearth of diaries and memoirs written in the hectic years following the discovery of gold, we have only few contemporary sources which give us a glimpse of the history of California during the period preceding this event. I was therefore rather pleased when I accidentally discovered that the memoirs of Theodor Cordua, the first settler in the Sacramento Valley north of Sutter's establishment, were still in the possession of Cordua's family in Germany. Through the kind efforts of Frau Laura Cordua, a niece of the pioneer, I secured the permission of her family to translate and publish the manuscript. The following account of Cordua's life and fortunes in California forms the tenth chapter of his highly interesting autobiography which I hope to publish in the near future.

Theodor Cordua was born on the 23rd of October, 1796, on his father's estate, "Wardow," near Laage in Mecklenburg. His family was probably of Spanish descent, having settled in Northern Germany in the Sixteenth or Seventeenth Century.

As a boy he showed little inclination for his studies and preferred to roam about the fields, dreaming of ocean travel and of adventures in foreign lands. At the age of fourteen he decided to become an apprentice to a retail merchant, for he hoped that the mercantile profession would offer him the best chances to see the world.

After a few dreary years spent as a grocery clerk, Cordua left Germany in November, 1816, and worked his way via Amsterdam and Capetown to Batavia. There he remained three years, first as a clerk to a German merchant, then as an official in the Dutch Colonial service. He returned home in 1819, and left in December of the same year for Pernambuco in Dutch South America. There Cordua established himself as a commission merchant, whose trade soon extended over the whole of Central America. In due course he became very wealthy, but lost his whole fortune in 1841.

After having tried in vain to gain a foothold in the United States he embarked for the Hawaiian Islands. In Honolulu he heard glowing accounts of Sutter's good fortune in California and decided to settle in this new and little known region of Mexico.

After his sad experience during the gold rush he resided in Hawaii for several years, and in 1856 returned to his native land. For some time he entertained the plan of trying his luck in foreign lands a third time by settling on Vancouver Island. But before the project could be realized the restless pioneer closed his eyes forever. He died in Güstrow on the 8th of October, 1857.

I

ARRIVAL IN CALIFORNIA

In a San Francisco weekly, the *Alta California*, December 1, 1855 (No. 47), the following article appeared:*

HISTORY OF MARYSVILLE

The early settlement of Marysville is a matter of much importance to its correct history, and it is due those whose enterprise opened the way to what is now a flourishing city, that their names, at least, appear as the true Pioneers. In 1841, Theodore Cordua settled in the forks of the Yuba and Feather rivers, where the city now stands, under a lease from Gen. Sutter, running nine years with the privilege of nine more. He remained in person on the property until January, 1849. During this term of nearly eight years, he erected several adobe houses, including his residence, granaries and other out-houses necessary for a ranch. These were at the foot of D and High streets, where a portion of the adobe walls are still standing. Cordua had from 3000 to 4000 head of cattle, and about 1000 head of horses—all of which might be termed wild stock, there being no market to justify the pains necessary to tame them. The cattle were only killed for the hide and the tallow, the meat being given to the Indians as far as they could use it.

In October, 1848, Charles Covillaud purchased one-half of Cordua's entire interest, being the lease of about two leagues from Sutter, and the Honcut Ranch of seven leagues, which was granted to Cordua by the Mexican Government, 1849—the lease and grant joining each other, and also the stock before named. In the spring of 1849, M. C. Nye and William Forster bought the remaining interest of Cordua in the land and stock. In the fall of the same year they sold the interest they had purchased of Cordua to Mr. Covillaud, who then became owner of this vast and valuable ranch. In the latter part of 1849, Mr. Covillaud sold three-fourths of his interest to John Sampson, J. M. Ramirez and Theodore Sicard; and in January, 1850, the town of Marysville was laid off by the four parties in connection, under the name of C. Covillaud & Co.

There were a great variety of opinions as to what should be the name of the embryo city. Some wanted to call it Yubaville, and some deeds were made out in that name. Others wanted to call it "Yuba City," some "Norwich" and some "Sicardora"—that being the favorite of Colonel Perry. While the discussion of the name was pending, a public meeting was called to take into consideration the general interests of the new city. At this meeting, Capt. Edward Power, from St. Louis, proposed to name it after Mrs. Covillaud, who was then the only white lady living on the town plot. Her name being Mary, it was then and there determined that the city should be named MARYSVILLE.—*Marysville Express*.

In general the data in this short history of the origin of the important town of Marysville are correct. Yet several minor mistakes and inaccuracies have crept in which I shall endeavor to correct when the occasion arises.

On the twentieth of May, 1842 (not 1841), I landed safely in Monterey, the residence of the Governor and [the site of] the chief custom house of Upper California. The Governor at that time was Señor Alvarado. All ships which wanted to

*Reprinted from the *Daily Alta California*, Nov. 28, 1855, Vol. IV, No. 298.

trade in California had to anchor first at Monterey in order to pay the high duty according to the Mexican tariff. Monterey had a Catholic church and but few streets which were built up entirely. Many streets had only a few houses here and there. There was not yet any pavement nor were there any gates. The whole place looked as if it were yet to become a town. From a distance, however, its two hundred white adobe houses on a gentle slope, surrounded on all sides by proud coniferous forests, made a very interesting and even surprising impression upon me, a northern European who came from the tropics. On the arrival of a ship from Boston or from the Sandwich Islands a ball was usually arranged. All foreigners were invited, and from the surrounding country the rancheros with their families assembled. The dances were similar to ours. *Cuadrillos*, waltzes, and *reales* followed one after another. The music was primitive. A wind instrument, the tambourine, the guitar and one violin made up the usual orchestra.

In September, I made a boat trip via Yerba Buena (later San Francisco) to visit Captain Sutter and his Fort or Nova Helvetia in the Sacramento Valley.¹ I conceived the plan of settling there too as a farmer. Before settling, however, I decided to visit the southern part of Upper California. For this purpose I took passage in Yerba Buena on the bark *Don Quijote*; Captain John Paty had recently arrived from the Sandwich Islands to trade his cargo of goods for skins and tallow. All harbors from San Diego to the Bay of San Francisco were visited going and returning. The supercargo usually travelled on horse and announced the arrival of the ship to customers and friends. In the stern of the ship, in front of the cabin staircase, the steerage was like a regular store provided with all kinds of goods. Here one could make purchases, retail and wholesale, according to one's wishes. As soon as the anchor had been cast in the harbor, the prospective customers came aboard so that at times a regular little fair was improvised. Captain Paty had his wife and son with him. The supercargo, in whose veins flowed Hawaiian blood, was Mr. William Davis of Honolulu, a good business man and a pleasant companion. During the trip, however, he was too busy to be much in our company.

From the Bay of San Francisco we first visited Monterey. Here we had an opportunity to witness the cruel entertainment, which is rather popular in California, of a fight between a large grizzly bear of about six hundred pounds and a spirited steer of about twice the size. In a circular enclosure a fore-leg of one animal was tied to that of the other by a rope 20 yards long. As soon as the steer saw the bear and felt that the latter was hindering it from moving about freely, it rushed toward the poor grizzly and ran his horns into the bear's ribs. After many such violent thrusts, the bear finally clutched its great paws around the neck of the steer and embraced it so tightly that the bull could not move and showed its fear by frantic bellows. Frequently the bull is strangled in this manner while the bear clings to its neck with its entrails dangling. The two animals participating in the fight we observed, were still alive after a struggle of two hours, although they were mortally wounded. The butcher gave them the death-blow with his knife.

1. Sutter had established his famous settlement in 1839.

From Monterey we travelled to Santa Barbara, a city of about two thousand inhabitants, and at that time the most beautiful in California. It is the residence of the bishop, situated not far from the sea, in a valley whose background is formed by high mountains. At the foot of these mountains bubble several hot springs. Even at that time it was the residence of several English and American families, who did everything in their power to make the stay of a stranger in Santa Barbara as pleasant as possible. Here, I had the pleasure of attending a wedding in one of the most prominent families in California. The marriage was solemnized in the beautiful church. On the way home all the guests, who had been at the nuptials, accompanied the bridal couple. The young husband, escorting his wife, threw handfuls of dollars from time to time among the children following the procession, as the custom demanded. In this manner more than one hundred dollars were given away. Every one who married, whether rich or poor, had to make a similar sacrifice according to his means. I have not been able to learn how this custom originated. The procession went back to the home of the parents-in-law of the husband where the wedding feast was served, followed by a fandango. Fandango here is not a single dance, but music and dancing in general. Every once in a while the ladies would throw an egg filled with eau de cologne at the young gentlemen they favored. Every throw which hit the mark increased the joy and the laughter. Besides that all kinds of jokes were played, especially such as would embarrass the young couple. A celebration like this lasted sometimes for a week or a fortnight.

From Santa Barbara we visited San Pedro. This harbor is situated about twenty English miles from the Pueblo de los Angeles, in a charming valley with brooks which flow constantly and irrigate all the gardens of the place. Pueblo de los Angeles, at that time the largest city in California with about twenty-five hundred inhabitants, appeared to be a garden.² Nearly every house was surrounded by vineyards and fruit trees. These gardens were open to every known foreigner. We were in Los Angeles at the time when all fruits were ripe. The trees, especially the peach, were almost breaking under their burden. In the garden of an old Frenchman³ I saw ripe oranges. I enjoyed the delicious grapes, the delicate pears, figs, and peaches. Although I daily ate many fruits I always remained in good health. Dysentery, which is so common in my home country in the fall, is not known here at all. In southern Upper California only a few valleys are suited for the cultivation of wheat, corn, and vegetables. As it does not rain here very often there is no agriculture to speak of, except where artificial irrigation is possible. But everywhere in the whole of southern Upper California, in the mountains as well as on the plains and in the valleys, cattle, horses, and sheep are raised with great success. The cattle are nearly always fat in July, but they often suffer a want of food from November

2. Cordua probably meant the outlying settlements. In old pictures Los Angeles looks like a rather bleak town.

3. Undoubtedly Jean Louis Vignes, or "Don Luis," a French cooper and distiller who had come to California via Honolulu in 1831. Settling at Los Angeles, in a few years he possessed the largest vineyard and made the best wine in California. He also had much to do with the growing of oranges at Los Angeles, and was instrumental in causing many French citizens to immigrate to California. He died in 1862 at the age of 79 (or 82). (Hittell, *History of California*, III, 179; Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 762.)

to February because the first rains in the fall spoil the old dry grass and the young grass grows but slowly. Since this part of Upper California was the first to be settled one could find here, at my time, numerous and beautiful ranchos. There is in general little timber. In the summer the usual temperature ranges from seventy to one hundred degrees, and in the winter from fifty to sixty degrees Fahrenheit. In general the climate is mild and very healthful.

One hundred years have not yet passed since the first settlers from Mexico made their homes in this part of Upper California. They were Jesuit monks⁴ who had emigrated from Mexico by ship or come from the eastern part of Lower California and Sonora over the land route. The first settlements (see Forbe's work about California)⁵ or missions were established at San Diego, San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, and San Fernando. The Indians who lived near or far were compelled to accept the Catholic religion and forced to work at the missions. Not acquainted with the Spanish language, they understood little of the Christian religion and could be governed at first only with force. At the first missions, cattle raising and agriculture were undertaken in large measure. Of land there was no scarcity. The real estate of every mission was the size of a principality. In its most flourishing period, the Mission San Gabriel owned over 5,000 Indians, 120,000 heads of cattle, 100,000 horses, and 25,000 sheep. Under the cloak of religion, the priests and monks ruled like magnates and were the kings of California, while the poor Indians had to do all the work.

II

THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW MECKLENBURG

The beginning of November we returned to the Bay of San Francisco and anchored at the small town of Yerba Buena which at that time could be called neither village nor city. Here I met my German compatriot, Mr. Flügge⁶ from Hanover, who was in the service of Sutter, and who induced me to return to Nova Helvetia with him. The idea of settling in Sutter's neighborhood in the Sacramento Valley I had almost given up in the meantime. I had heard many complaints about Sutter, especially that he had contracted many debts and did not think of repaying them; for this reason I naturally somewhat lost my confidence in him. Mr. Carl Flügge, whose uncle I had known since 1815, in Grossen Helle, Mecklenburg, as a very worthy and respectable man, had been in California for some time and was better acquainted with the conditions than I was. Therefore I followed his advice although he was a friend of Sutter and had been his pal⁷ from the time they had met in St. Louis. He advised me not to give up my plan and I returned to Sutter's Fort with him. Sutter, who owned a grant of thirty leagues⁸ (about thirty German square miles or one hundred and fifty thousand acres) in

4. A mistake of the writer. There were only Franciscan missions in Upper California.

5. Forbes, Alexander, *California: A History of Upper and Lower California* . . . , London, 1839.

6. Carl Flügge, who had come to California in 1841, was for some time the legal adviser and "diplomatic representative" of Sutter. He negotiated the latter's treaty with Micheltorena.

7. The word "Duzbruder," used by the author, means that they used the familiar "du" in addressing each other.

8. Sutter's grant consisted of only eleven leagues at that time.

the Sacramento Valley, wished to have settlers in his neighborhood. He also wanted to buy the goods which I had brought from the Sandwich Islands and which he needed very badly just then. His many promises finally led to a deal.⁹

To Mr. Sutter I sold goods valued at about \$8,000, for which I was to receive in exchange heifers at \$4 a head, wild cows at \$6, domesticated cows and oxen at \$15, wild mares at \$3, domesticated mares at \$15, and well-broken horses at \$20. Mr. Flügge guaranteed everything and became my partner for a few months. Sutter, in accordance with his promises, also gave me all the land north of the Yuba to which he held claim. This permission to live on a part of his holdings and to use it at my pleasure for nine years was given to me by contract. If I would move away at the end of nine years, Sutter would pay me for the newly constructed buildings, but if I were to use the land another nine years, the buildings, too, would become Sutter's property. In addition to the five leagues I received from Sutter, I applied to the Mexican Government a little later for a grant of seven more leagues, situated at the boundary of Sutter's grant. The size of this additional property was probably ten leagues, but I have never received a written document for it. I was loath to take the trip to Monterey or to the distant Pueblo de los Angeles, the residence of the last two Mexican Governors, Micheltorena and Pico. Neither was I willing to bribe the government officials at those places. Nevertheless everybody considered me as the owner of the Honcut Ranch. This name I had given my ten-league grant, because the Honcut River formed the northern boundary of my entire holdings of about fifteen square miles. On the east, my possessions were bounded by the foothills of the Sierra Nevada, on the south by the Yuba and on the west by the Feather River.¹⁰

According to the Mexican laws I could consider the six to seven thousand Indians inhabiting the land as my subjects. They were not allowed to work for any other settler, but received wages and board from me whenever I needed them.

My ranch was in every respect one of the finest farms in California suitable for soil cultivation as well as for cattle raising. The whole estate was a valley with hardly any trees. There were only a few beautiful oaks. The banks of the river were lined with oaks, alders, willows, and sycamores; here and there were arbors of wild grapes. By the rivers spread the finest meadows and the most beautiful

9. [Cordua's note:] As is well known, the Spanish or Mexican Government gave grants here and elsewhere to settlers who applied for them. These deeds were supposed to be absolutely free, but they could be obtained only by bribing the governmental secretary. If one was in the possession of such a deed, which had received the signature of the governor and had been confirmed by the annual assembly of the *Junta* (consisting of twelve elected citizens of California), no one could contest this title. The grants were of various sizes, the largest of thirty leagues and the smallest of two leagues. In Missouri one still speaks of the old Spanish grants. Such a grant was given only to the family and could not be transferred to other persons without the consent of the government. In this respect the grants resembled our feudal fiefs. The limitations on the right to sell the property were discontinued after California had become a part of the United States.

10. [Cordua's note]: Since the Indians had no special name for this river (Yuba) I called it after the Indian village of Yuba, situated on the opposite shore of the Feather River. The Feather River received its name from the French Canadians who many years before my arrival hunted beavers and otters in this district for the Hudson's Bay Company and who took several million dollars worth of furs out of the country. They found many Indian villages at the river whose inhabitants adorned their heads with diadems of woodpecker feathers and likewise wove goose feathers into their hemp blankets which they used as coats. For this reason the beautiful river was rightly called Rio de las Plumas, or by the Americans, Feather River. The names of the rancheros or Indian villages I found rather pretty, for instance Boga, Deitchera, Honcut, Macalome, Yuba, Mimal, Hock, Sisum, Olash. (The villages of Boga and Deitchera are not mentioned in Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California*.—E.G.G.)

grazing land, lowlands of five hundred to two thousand acres. On the whole plain of the Sacramento River not a single shrub is found, only here and there near the river are a few oaks. But it is covered with fine grasses, and in the month of March many flowers blossom. At this time it resembles a carpet of all colors. The soil of this plain is a yellow loam, toward the mountains it becomes reddish-brown and is less fertile. In the lowlands by the rivers are alluvial lands, light soil mixed with much humus and hence very fertile. The luxurious growth of grass makes this sufficiently evident.

Thus I established myself in the late fall of 1842, as a farmer or *ranchero* on the Yuba River, within the fork formed by the Yuba and Feather rivers, 39° 20' north latitude, not far from the place where the Yuba empties into the Feather River. I called my whole settlement Neu-Mecklenburg, hoping that I would be able to share it with many of my own countrymen. In the beginning I had to struggle with unspeakable difficulties. The virgin soil had to be broken with the plowshare, and it was extremely difficult to instruct the laborers on account of the language. The first good ox-hide served as a mattress, and the saddle as a pillow, the stumps of trees as a table and chairs. Mr. Flügge left me after a few months. He had invested nothing in the business, yet he was not satisfied with fifty per cent. of the profits which, to be sure, would amount to very little during the first few years. He wanted to make his fortune as soon as possible and went to the southern part of Upper California. Everything I saw and heard was "Greek" to me, although I had been born and reared in the country and was not entirely unacquainted with cattle raising and agriculture. But the cattle were treated here in a manner which not only would have surprised the Mecklenburg farmer, but would have intimidated him. Until 1844, I was the only settler of the Upper Sacramento Valley, in a distant part of the unknown California, almost without neighbors and surrounded by thousands of wild Indians. I lived two hundred miles away from Yerba Buena, and all the necessities had to be carried up the Sacramento, Feather, and Yuba rivers by boat or canoe. Captain Sutter was my only neighbor, yet he lived fifty miles as the crow flies, or seventy-five miles along the stream, from me. Under such circumstances, and especially since I saw everything around me in a wild state, my courage changed sometimes to despondency and all my dreams in anticipation of a pleasant life in this beautiful wilderness seemed to fade. But with persistent industry and courageous efforts I finally reached my goal, and—since a human being is a victim of habit—I became satisfied with everything that had been foreign to me at first.

In the spring of 1843, I was in the happy position to erect structures of clay, frame, and straw, and to build several enclosures for the cattle and horses on my ranch. I could lay out gardens and fields and provide them with fences and ditches.¹¹

Not until this time did I receive the horses and cattle I had bought from Sutter. I also provided my ranch with hogs and chickens now. The term "wild stock" may

11. [Cordua's note]: Almost the whole year around I employed eleven white people of all nationalities and twelve Indians, all of whom lived and boarded under my roof. For ordinary agricultural laborers I could always get as many Indians as I needed from the surrounding villages. I paid white people twenty to fifty dollars a month, the Indians received a dollar with board and goods for two weeks.

give the impression that wild horses and cattle were running about in great numbers in the Sacramento Valley, of which I might get as many as I desired. In the San Joaquin Valley there were, indeed, wild horses, but no wild animals could be found in my district. Whoever wanted to own cattle had to buy them, or, as it was done frequently, steal them. While we had no wild stock in the Sacramento Valley, we let our animals run freely in the open. This could be done all year around because there is no winter here. In order to be able to gather the cattle at the desired time, we trained them by driving them to the rodeo, which was usually one or two miles from the living quarters. At first we made this drive daily, then weekly, and finally monthly. After some time the cattle ran at full speed to the rodeo as soon as a few men on horseback rode about calling, "Rodeo, Rodeo." In this manner the cattle could be driven into large solid enclosures to brand them or for other purposes. At the rodeo we gave them salt to lick and thus kept them together for several hours. When the cattle had arrived at the rodeo, they acted like domesticated animals. They rested and stood around and one could ride through the herd without any trouble.

My grazing land spread over an open plain from twenty to thirty miles and when ten vaqueros at daybreak shouted "Rodeo," all the animals galloped with raised tails toward the intended place. All was done galloping and usually by ten o'clock everything was assembled. If one wanted to catch a single animal ten or twenty miles away from the ranch or if one wanted to bring it home or to another place, one would attach a lasso to a *cabreço*. In this way one could catch the wildest steer or the most spirited stallion and lead it wherever one needed it.¹² If one desired to separate fifty or more heads from the herd, one placed the *cabreço* a short distance away from the animals and brought the cattle which one desired to separate to this place. As soon as the desired number was there, one let the animals go and they were led by the *cabreço* to an enclosure near the house. The cattle were large and strong.

The horses were divided into *manadas*. A *manada* consisted of twenty-five mares and one stallion. In guarding them one gradually accustomed them to stay at certain places where water and food were not lacking. The stallion watched over the mares very carefully. If a strange horse approached he would run toward it and try to chase it away by kicking and biting. The *manadas* had to be driven every month to an enclosure by the house to keep them from becoming too wild. If one wanted to train a colt, of three years, one tied it with the *jaquima* (a halter made of horsehair) and left it without food and water for two or three days. The horse then was mounted by a man who was tied on. After many jumps the poor animal began to run and was spurred on until it sweat and trembled and could hardly stand on its feet any longer. The best of the colts were, of course, rendered worthless in this manner. The horses were of an excellent stock. Since the animals ran about day and night, one tried to prevent stealing and exchanging by branding them. This was done by burning a sign (mine was TC)

12. [Cordua's note]: *Cabreços* are oxen which are trained for this purpose.

on the hind thigh of each horse or cattle. Besides this, the cattle were marked on the ears. These signs had to be registered at the office of the *alcalde* in order to make a future claim legal. If an animal was sold, the seller receipted the value received by putting his mark on the front leg and the buyer burned his mark on the hind leg, below that of the seller. Thus one saw at times horses with many brandings, with which the animals surely did not gain in beauty.

My stock in 1843 amounted to: Cattle—820 cows with 100 calves, among them 20 tame milk cows, 100 bulls (one estimated one bull for fifteen cows), 80 oxen; an increase of 800 head. Horses—200, 50 of them tame; an increase of 150 head. Hogs—originally 5, increased to 54. Chickens—originally 5 hens and 1 rooster, increased to 120.

To acquire this stock no very great amount of money had been necessary since I paid, as mentioned above, \$4 for a cow and \$3 for a young mare.

The manufacture of butter and cheese was very limited. One could find ranchos of twenty to thirty thousand head of cattle and yet no milk could be procured for coffee. Cattle-raising was undertaken chiefly for skins and tallow. Soil-cultivation, too, was still very primitive. With a simple plow, the upper crust of the soil was broken about four or five inches deep. Upon this ground, as in Germany, the seed was broadcast in the fall as well as in the spring. If one had no harrow a crooked young oak tree was used. The harvest began at the end of June, and was very productive, in spite of the poor preparation of the ground, because soil and climate were very well suited to wheat, barley, peas, and beans. In the interior of the country rust was still unknown, but it could be found along the coast as far north as Oregon. On Vancouver Island, which is situated on the coast, although farther north than Oregon, rust was entirely unknown. There were hardly any failures of crops. Only when the wheat was very milky and when the temperature was too hot, it ripened too quickly and lost in weight. The grain was cut with sickles and knives, but not thrashed. The grain was separated by having the horses trample upon it on an open thrashing floor, as it was done by the Jews of old. Colza should thrive excellently here, but it was not cultivated in my time.

III

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1845 AND THE EMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED STATES

Until the end of the year 1844, we lived a tranquil life. Everything followed a general routine. Diseases and illnesses among the animals and men were known but little. In December of this year, however, a dark cloud arose on the horizon. The country resounded with revolution and civil war. In Europe this sounds terrible, but in the large and small Spanish republics such a thing was taken with great calmness because every one knew that the unsettled situation would not last long. From Mexico several hundreds of freed convicts had been sent to California as soldiers.¹³ These offended the good Californian citizens because

13. Micheltorena and his soldiers had been sent to California in 1842.

they did not shrink from robbery and murder. The officers, to be sure, were a noticeable exception, especially their general, Governor Micheltorena, who was a good man and a friend to every one—only a little too lenient in dealing with these vagabonds. Now, the citizens, who wanted to keep Micheltorena but send the soldiers home, took up arms. Captain Sutter, who wished to receive forgiveness for a former offense against Mexico, sided with the Governor. Through a number of intrigues he succeeded in gathering about two hundred Europeans and Americans as well as two hundred and fifty Indians. Some of those who did not wish to volunteer were forced to join. I was one of these. The foreigners were mostly settlers from the Sacramento Valley and Upper California. Sutter proposed to elect a leader, firmly expecting that he himself would be chosen. The choice, however, fell upon the brave Captain Gant,¹⁴ an old doughty American, who formerly had been in the service of the United States. For his adjutant Captain Rufuss, a German,¹⁵ was selected. Sutter and I remained unnecessary associates.¹⁶ In the Salinas Valley, near Monterey, we united with the troops of Micheltorena. Our whole army consisted of about eight hundred men, a copper field piece, and two old rusty cannon. Our batteries were placed upon an old ox-cart. All good Californian citizens as well as the foreigners below Monterey opposed us with an army of about the same strength.

The incidents of this little campaign I can skip easily. I only wish to mention that in May of the following year, 1845, the campaign ended near Pueblo de los Angeles with a defeat of our party. With the exception of a horse which lost its tail, there were no casualties on either side. Many of my brave comrades had run away before the battle commenced. I received the honorable commission of an official messenger and was wise enough not to return.¹⁷ General Micheltorena with his soldiers was sent back to Mexico. The good fellow had promised every one on his side legal titles for their land after the completion of the campaign. He was, however, embarked on the *Don Quijote*, Captain John Paty, and expectations to receive legal titles came to nought.¹⁸

The immigrant trains for Oregon and California usually collected in spring at Westport, on the extreme western frontier of Missouri, and started on their trail over the Rocky Mountains at the beginning of April. The carriages in which most of the immigrants take this trip are ordinary covered wagons occupied by one family and packed with the complete household equipment. Every wagon is

14. John Gantt, who had come to California in 1843 with the Chiles-Walker party. He died in Napa Valley in 1849.

15. According to Sutter's *Reminiscences*, Ernst Rufuss was in command of the Indian company. Bancroft says (*Hist. of Calif.*, V, 706) that he was naturalized in 1844 and was grantee of the Cazadores grant in the Sacramento Valley. In 1845, in partnership with William Benitz he leased the Fort Ross property from Sutter, and in '46 was grantee of the Rancho de German north of Ross, of which he sold part in 1847, but he resided in Sonoma County at least until 1879.

16. A facsimile of the roster of the forces which left Sutter's Fort on January 1, 1845, to march to the aid of Governor Manuel Micheltorena against the revolting Californians under José Castro and former Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado, is to be found in *The Diary of Johann August Sutter*, published by the Grabhorn Press, San Francisco, 1932.

17. It is small wonder that Sutter, who wrote a glowing account of this somewhat quixotic campaign, does not speak highly of Cordua in his writings.

18. Sutter himself had received a grant of twenty-two leagues which later was declared void by the United States Supreme Court.

drawn by two or three oxen, with as many oxen in reserve. Some travellers ride on mules or horses. To be sure of finding sufficient fodder and water, the large trains are separated into detachments of ten to sixty wagons. Each detachment elects a leader or captain charged with the enforcement of order. Such a caravan covers fifteen to twenty miles a day. At places where good grass and water are found, a rest of several days is made. Near the Platte River on the wide plains and in the river valley, great numbers of buffalo are seen far and near. Usually they graze quietly on the nourishing buffalo-grass. They easily can become dangerous to the caravan when they are chased because they unite in large herds and stampede, crushing everything in their way. Occasionally a halt is called and a buffalo-hunt is undertaken until enough of the palatable meat of these animals is obtained and dried to last for some time. It is said that the tongue of the buffalo is very tasty and a hunter who is eager to get this delicacy will often kill a buffalo just for its tongue.¹⁹ The route to Oregon was established by Clark's and Lewis' first expedition, but the world-famous traveller, Colonel Charles Fremont, has opened more convenient routes.²⁰ At Fort Hall the roads to Oregon and to California separate. In general the road to California leads over wide treeless plains, over easily passable mountain ranges, through valleys and rivers.

Not far from the Bear River, which empties into the Salt Lake, are the famous soda springs whose water is said to surpass in taste the Selterser.²¹ Of the springs some are boiling hot, some lukewarm and some are ice-cold. Here the immigrants usually stop to refresh themselves. In the basin of the Great Salt Lake, on the other hand, is a stretch where the caravans have to travel about seventy-five miles without finding grass or water. In this region many a poor animal must die on account of thirst or weakness. After that one passes Utah, the great Mormon settlement in the Valley of the Bear River at the great Salt Lake, an example of what cooperative work is capable of achieving. After that, one has to pass the Truckee River. It is only two or three feet deep and about fifty feet wide and flows rapidly over a stony bed. This river has to be crossed some forty times before one can leave its banks. After this river has been left behind, the country begins to rise. The road leads now over small hills covered with good grass and winds from valley to valley up the Californian mountains. After about ten days, the high point of the road is reached, about eight thousand feet above the sea level. Up to this point the difficulties are not insurmountable and a caravan still can cover eight miles in a single day. But from here down to the California Bear River the trail leads over naked rocks and through dark canyons and valleys without the slightest sustenance for man or beast. There are places where the wagons must be taken apart and lowered down by ropes. The oxen must almost be rolled down or dragged over large layers of rock, so that they are half dead when the train arrives in the beautiful Bear Valley.

19. The same is reported by John Bidwell (*Echoes of the Past*, Chicago, 1928, p. 30).

20. Frémont reached Oregon for the first time late in 1843, and crossed the Sierra into California early in 1844, but the Overland Route had been opened already by the Bartleson-Bidwell-Weber party in 1841, followed by the Chiles-Walker party in 1843. Lansford W. Hastings and his party had also come via Oregon in 1843.

21. A German mineral water.

The distance from Westport to the Sacramento Valley is said to be twenty-two hundred miles. I do not believe that the difficulties over this immense land route are very great. Commodore Stockton, in 1847, made this trip very comfortably in two months with horses and mules. It is, however, self-evident that one must prepare everything thoroughly and proceed very carefully. In the Rocky Mountains the white man often fares worse than the Indian. Laws do not exist there at all. Of this an example: In the fall of 1845, two Germans came to California; both had been engaged by Böhme, a German mineralogist in St. Louis, one as a cook and the other as a driver. They were to bring Mr. Böhme to Oregon. Near Fort Laramie, Mr. Böhme was found dead with a bullet in his head. He had been shot from behind. Since the cook, Heinrich Bunte of Elberfeld, usually hunted with Mr. Böhme and had been with him on the same day, the immigrants maintained unanimously that Bunte was Böhme's assassin. Since there was no plaintiff, no judgment was given. Mr. Böhme has disappeared from this world, mourned by his relatives who perhaps do not know the manner of his death.

In the fall of 1845, there arrived from the United States the largest immigration overland which I had seen so far. The immigrants arrived with two hundred wagons, not far from my ranch at the Bear River in the Sacramento Valley. Of these immigrants I took four Germans in my employ, among them Madame Kunzen from Baden. I entrusted her with the kitchen²² while her husband, a tailor, who knew something about gardening was put in charge of the garden.²³

The year 1846, was of greatest importance in the history of California. After the Mexican War the country was annexed by the United States and was later received as a free state by the Union. Since I was far away from the hubbub of the war I considered it advisable, as a Mexican citizen, to remain neutral, although Colonel Fremont wanted me to participate in the struggle. It was only accidental that I was not drafted. Later on I had to provide several horses and saddles, but up to now I have not received any payment for them.

In August, I made the first *matanzas*, slaughtering two hundred old fattened cows and full-grown steers. The animals which were to be slaughtered were driven into an enclosure the day before. They were caught with a lasso, thrown to the ground, killed and skinned. All fatty parts were separated from the flesh. The fat was boiled down and the meat cut into strips, about the thickness of a thumb and one or two ells²⁴ long, salted in layers and the next morning hung in the sun to dry. The head was not used and the tongue was very seldom cut out. The bones were boiled down in large kettles and used in making soap. The skin was

22. [Cordua's note]: Because of the lack of a good housekeeper I had been obliged to learn how to sew, wash, cook, and bake. I was already able to toss up and catch the pancake like an experienced cook.

23. [Cordua's note]: Gardening, chicken raising, and taming of wild animals as bears, deers, antelopes, and quails, were my hobbies. The affairs around the house and garden improved now considerably. Every second day a fat steer was slaughtered. A large vegetable garden yielded everything for the kitchen. Fowls and hogs, butter, milk, cheese—everything was in abundance. Occasionally deer, elks, bears, antelopes, wild geese, ducks and quails were hunted. The rivers contained the most delicious fish, as salmon, sturgeon, perch, etc. Nothing was lacking except good drinks such as tea and coffee. Clear water from the Yuba and rich milk were used in their place. Since there were no good lodgings in the Sacramento Valley I had guests at my house practically always; in the winter of 1845 as many as twenty. Everything was free as is the custom in new settlements. One does not receive thanks for it although hospitality sometimes pays in the future.

24. One ell equals forty-five inches.

cleansed as much as possible of the flesh, stretched out and, if possible, dried in the shade. The boiled tallow was wrapped in sacks made of the hides of large bulls and brought to the market. A dried skin of about thirty pounds costs \$2; an *arroba*²⁵ of tallow \$1.50; an *arroba* of dried meat 50¢, a pound of soap 12½¢.²⁶ Those were the fixed prices in all California in bartering or exchanging of goods. In paying cash, twenty-five per cent. was deducted, because cash money was as rarely found in California as good workers. In this manner I made my first *matanzas*. I can not be proud of the fact that I used only the skins and tallow and presented the meat to the Indians. In the missions and large cattle ranches the sites of the *matanzas* and even the surroundings of the dwellings resembled a flaying-ground with mounds of bones. Here no one paid any attention to the bones or even the most beautiful horns. The export of hides from all of California went principally to Boston in the United States and amounted to about one and one-half million skins. Tallow of about one million pounds annually was exported to Lima.

My ranch, Neu-Mecklenburg, with its complete live stock and all the improvements up to the first *matanzas*, had cost me about fifteen thousand dollars. These *matanzas* gave me the first large income with which I could pay nearly all of my debts in California.

The year 1846 ended with a terrible calamity in the California mountains. In November of this year, at about the place where the trail from the United States reaches its highest point in the mountains, some twenty belated wagons with emigrants from the United States were caught in a terrible storm and snowed in over night. All the animals and sixty human beings found their death in the snow. The survivors were without the least food after a few days and had to sustain their lives with boiled hides and the bodies of their companions which they had dragged out of the snow. Neither oxen nor horses could be found. All had been let free the evening before the storm and had been lost in the snow. After contemplating several days, thirteen persons, three women and ten men, together with two Indians, whom Captain Sutter had sent with flour to assist the party, decided to attempt the trip through the snow on foot. After three weeks the three women, but only two of the men, arrived in the Sacramento Valley alive.²⁷

The two Indians had been the first victims. The women assured me, by the way, that the flesh of the Indians had tasted much better than that of the white people and that they had preferred the heart and liver to the flesh.

The first news of this sad happening soon spread over the whole Sacramento Valley and the whole of California. Immediately, preparations were made to save these sufferers in the high mountains. At intervals, stations were erected [on the way] to the camp of the immigrants, and in this manner food was carried to them, and the unfortunates were brought into the Sacramento Valley. Käseberg

25. Twenty-five pounds.

26. [Cordua's note]: The dollar or piaster figured at one hundred cents.

27. Cordua refers here to the "Forlorn Hope" of the ill-fated Donner party.

from Bielefeld was one of the last to arrive alive. He has become notorious as a cannibal.²⁸ It has been proven that many terrible scenes and even murder had occurred in connection with this incident.

IV

A PROSPEROUS YEAR

In the year of 1847, little of note occurred. I planted and sowed and made considerable improvements. In June of this year I was visited by Mr. Hartweg, a traveller for the London Botanical Society.²⁹ With my guest I enjoyed frequent hunting and fishing trips and helped him to collect plants in the California mountains. We also visited the beautiful Bear Valley in those mountains. This valley of about the size of half a square mile forms a square, level meadow through which a brook flows slowly. This is the small Bear River which empties into the Feather River. The small mountain valley was covered with the most beautiful green grass and a mass of spring flowers, while in the shadowy canyons of the mountains the snow had not yet melted. In the center of the valley we found a small isolated fir which caused the greatest surprise to the botanist because this species was entirely unknown to him. In spite of a thorough search we could not find a second tree of this kind in the vicinity. At the end of the valley was a great block of granite, larger than the largest building of Europe. Attracted by this immense mass of rock, I called to my companion, "Tell me, how did this giant stone get here?" Mr. Hartweg, who was already on the block looking for moss and other plants, and holding a beautiful flower in his hand triumphantly replied, "But, please tell me first how this strange little flower gets here, where the tiniest moss hardly finds nourishment?" From this rock one saw the Yuba River making its way into a canyon about five hundred feet deep, foaming and roaring over thousands of rocky crevices and over innumerable cliffs, and now and then plunging over a rocky wall, forming a beautiful cascade. On the other side the eye fell upon a labyrinth of rugged mountains, whose valleys were shaded by proud coniferous growth, while their rocky peaks lay bald and deserted in the glaring sunlight. In the distance, high peaks covered with eternal snow appeared on the horizon. We remained several days on this beautiful high plateau, shot several deer, and Mr. Hartweg discovered many an unknown plant. The great grizzly bear, from which the valley and river derive their name, lived here in large numbers. The reason we did not see any bears was that they lie hidden during the day and do not start on their wanderings until twilight. Our small store of venison and beef must have attracted a bear because we noted his tracks a few steps from our camp. The scent of man, however, is sufficient to put this dangerous animal to flight. Only when he is tormented by hunger will he go so far as to attack a man.

The elevation of Bear Valley is estimated at 6,500 feet, that of the Emigrant Pass at 8,000 feet, and the highest peak of the Sierra Nevada from 11,000 to

28. Most of the terrible stories told about Lewis Keseberg have been discredited by C. F. McGlashan in his *History of the Donner Party*, (Truckee, 1879).

29. Bancroft spells the name Hartwig.

12,000 feet. In the small valleys and the barren plateaus between five and eight thousand feet, the black-tailed as well as the red-tailed deer is found. Here it is less disturbed by the Indians, who live more in the middle and lower mountains. As soon as the snow is melted by the sun and the grass begins to sprout, the deer climbs up into the high mountains and, feeding upon rich greens, becomes very fat. One might see herds of as many as thirty deer. This is in general a good field for a hunter. At the elevation of 5,000 feet the region of coniferous growth begins. We found silver fir with a circumference of twenty-eight to thirty feet at a height of six feet from the ground; the lowest branches, however, were about one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet from the ground. The tallest trees usually stand in the impassable canyons and valleys.

We were satisfied to admire these trees, but the bold Yankee who surmounts even unsurpassable difficulties will know how to make use of them. At an elevation of 5,000 feet down to the 2,000-foot level the region of coniferous and deciduous trees extends. Among the latter the oak is most common. Here forests are open and light. Here and there regions without trees are found, where the slopes of the mountains are partially covered with manzanitas. The Indians use the leaves of this shrub as tobacco and its small red fruit makes an agreeable cooling drink, a healthy nourishing mush, or a tasty cake when pounded into meal and baked. Large valleys with fine grass and clover cut through this region of the mountains in all directions. The lower region, in which prevails the above mentioned reddish-brown clay, does not have many trees. Only here and there one finds thick thorny bushes and isolated crippled oaks and firs. Here are found rabbits, foxes, wolves, and occasionally deer. Here also live whole flocks of quails whose heads are adorned with feathers standing upright. Very seldom one meets with a beautiful species of pheasant which ordinarily does not fly but runs on the ground.

Thus, the time until 1847 passed with hunting, fishing, and botanizing. Instead of the ordinary *matanzas* I was prepared to salt the meat so that my profit on a head of cattle was about \$20.00, twice as much as formerly. The *matanzas*, by the way, became larger every year. This time, for instance, I slaughtered six hundred oxen and one hundred and fifty hogs. I salted and smoked meat and bacon, and made hams, sausages, and headcheese. I had harvested fifteen hundred *fanegas*³⁰ of wheat, three hundred of barley and one hundred of peas. Some of the wheat I had ground into flour. One *fanega* of wheat of one hundred and twenty-eight pounds gave one hundred pounds of flour of medium quality. I profited greatly by this because a *fanega* of wheat cost two dollars but a *fanega* of flour, eight dollars. It was a handicap that the mill was two hundred miles away—one hundred ninety miles by water and an additional ten miles by land.

Everything increased daily and the fertile soil of California yielded everything one could desire. Chickens I had by the thousands and there was no lack of butter and cheese. Salmon was salted and smoked in great quantities. Caviar, which the Russians considered as good as that of the Volga, was made from the

30. One *fanega* equals about 1.60 bushels.

spawn of the sturgeon. I had a candle and soap factory. My hunters of otter and beaver curried leather from the deer skins and made trousers and shoes. Skins of the otters and beavers I sold to the Hudson Bay Company, and the castor³¹ I preserved in bladder and tallow for export to the East Indies. The salable products naturally increased from year to year, but there was no special market for them. Therefore I had to think of finding one, and concluded that the Mexican harbor of Mazatlan and the Sandwich Islands might be suitable. If I wanted to realize my plan I had to procure a ship. I made a contract with three English carpenters, according to which they undertook to build a schooner of one hundred and fifty tons at my settlement on the Yuba, by October, 1848. In November I thought I should be able to load the ship with my products: skins, salted beef and pork, hams, hog's lard, tallow, candles, soap, flour, Indian corn, potatoes, onions, salmon and to take them to Mazatlan in order to sell the ship and cargo there. I hoped to repeat this annually in a growing scale. For the construction of the ship, I had the finest timber, some in my Neu-Mecklenburg, but a greater part in the mountains. Since I had sufficient timber and iron and had hired the carpenters and a smith, I was well prepared for the construction of the ship. But many things which were necessary for the complete equipment of the ship, as ropes, sails, anchor, chains, etc., had to be procured. For this I needed several thousand dollars. In order to procure the money I contracted with the American Government to deliver in June, 1848, for their cavalry, one hundred and ninety tons of hay, the ton of two thousand pounds at \$16.50. In February, 1848, I signed the contract and hired at once twelve Americans to deliver the hay for ten dollars a ton at the designated place. I promised to pay them with young cows at five dollars a head.

The year 1847 ended with the greatest expectations and it seemed that the following year would crown my success. Around my dwelling, whose doors were never locked, the former wilderness had changed into gardens and large fields of various kinds of grain. The antelope and deer had been replaced by large herds of cattle and horses which grazed unhampered and unguarded. Even the wild Indians appeared to be not unimpressible by culture and civilization. With my Indians I always lived in peaceful and harmonious relations. What they lost by my cattle as to acorns, grass seeds, etc., I replaced with wheat, corn, melons, etc., which I planted and shared with them.

Almost in all directions I now had neighbors, so that the social relations were considerably improved. In addition, I enjoyed the greatest freedom which any human being could enjoy and was frequently in a position to give the deciding vote in a judgment over life and death. Then gold was found in my district and my great hopes came to naught.

31. Cordua doubtless refers here to the castoreum, the brown substance used for medical purposes and in perfumery.

V

THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

In the southern part of Upper California, near the Mission San Fernando, thirty miles from the Pueblo de los Angeles, a gold placer was known for many years.³² An industrious worker could, with many privations and good luck, make one-half to one dollar daily. In the year 1842 I saw in Pueblo de los Angeles in the house of Don Luis,³³ a Frenchman, a small piece of gold of the value of about ten dollars. At the beginning of March, 1848, I went to Sutter's Fort. With an air of great importance Sutter showed me a small flask containing about three ounces of fine gold dust. This gold had been discovered by Mr. James Marshall, an American, in digging a ditch for a sawmill. The place of discovery lay in the intermediary mountains of California, at the American River, sixty miles east from where it empties into the Sacramento River, at 38°30' north latitude. The building of the sawmill was costing Captain Sutter much more than it could ever yield for him in later years. Similarly, the securing of these few ounces of gold had, according to Sutter's own statement, cost three times its value of about fifty dollars. In various gold countries, as Chile, Peru, and Colombia, I had heard that gold digging is a very unprofitable business. Therefore this discovery did not impress me very much; I did not yet divine that I would be drawn into the turmoil and that my fortune would be destroyed in connection with it. Without paying much attention to the discovery of gold I embarked at the end of April with twenty-five Indians for San Francisco in order to fetch the twelve hired Americans and with them to prepare the contracted hay in the Napa Valley at the Bay of San Francisco. But all of them had gone off already to the rich gold mines. At the time when I had left Neu-Mecklenburg there had been no panning for gold as yet, neither at the Yuba River nor at the Feather River. All had streamed to the mill at the American Fork. The twelve Americans had gone there too. With much effort and great difficulties I succeeded in getting other laborers, but only at higher wages. Most of these workers stayed but a short time, and finally I could not get any help even for fifty dollars a day. Only my Indians remained loyal to me. One hundred and forty tons of hay were pressed and baled ready for delivery; over one hundred tons still lay unpressed on the ground. My hay contract was thus filled on my part as well as it was possible under the circumstances, although under the conditions at that time no contract was respected. The soldiers left their posts with arms, horses, and saddles; the sailors left their ships; officers, mates, captains, citizens, lawyers, officials, alcaldes—all hurried to the gold regions in the Sacramento Valley. Yet, the agent of the United States, Quartermaster Folsom,³⁴ did not treat me very honorably. He was not ashamed to

32. Gold was discovered by Francisco Lopez on the San Francisco rancho near San Fernando Mission in March, 1842, and by May the gold region had been found to extend over two leagues. Abel Stearns sent some of this gold to Philadelphia by Alfred Robinson before the end of that year, and the placer was worked more or less continuously, chiefly by Sonorans, down to 1846. (Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, IV, 297, and Duflot de Mofras, *Exploration du territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies* . . . , Paris, 1844, I, 489.)

33. See Note 3.

34. Captain Joseph Folsom was Assistant Quartermaster with the New York Volunteers.

deduct one thousand dollars for fifty tons of hay which had not been pressed. Thus I did not get any profit from my contract although I had filled it as loyally as it was possible! Had I been less honorable and plain-dealing what could I not have done with my twenty-five Indians during this time in the mines! I would have considered Folsom's procedure not unreasonable if his government would have had any disadvantage in this deal. Later he could find no ships to freight the hay and had to let the whole shipment lie with the exception of a few tons, until the fall and winter rain spoiled everything.

At the end of June, I returned to my ranch. My majordomo received me, but he was intoxicated to such an extent that he could not stand on his legs. At the time when gold was discovered, I had in my employ a German, Adolf Brüheim³⁵ from Hamburg, for a butcher and cook, an American for majordomo, an American for blacksmith, three Englishmen and a Scotchman as carpenters, and an Englishman for captain of my boat and my canoes. With the exception of a few Indians and the intoxicated majordomo all of my people had left me. The carpenters who were supposed to build the ship had gone so far as to pull up the floors of my house. Of the two thousand board feet stolen in this manner they had built a machine to wash gold at the mines, receiving one-third of the yield. In the fields, the stalks were weighted down with over-ripened grain. With great effort and much expense I harvested the larger part and put it in stacks near my home. However, this grain was spoiled later by the rain and by the cattle because of the lack of laborers. Most of my neighbors left all the grain unharvested in the field. In the fall from six to eight dollars were paid for a bushel, about sixty pounds, of wheat or barley. I could have had a harvest of about five thousand bushels this year. Many who went to the mines or returned from them, called at my house because my place was the most convenient for all the northern mines. This caused me much trouble and I did not receive any thanks for it. While everybody was searching for gold I had nothing but expenses and work. Even the most respectable people went into the rich Californian mountains, whose river beds had been filled with gold since time immemorial. One spoke of nothing but ounces and pounds. Some of my former employees claimed to have made as much as ten to twenty thousand dollars. Although I was but twelve miles away from the rich Yuba washings I could not participate in the rush because I had no help and was obliged to watch the house. The few who were still with me were always intoxicated, so everything was in the greatest disorder. A colored cook I could not hold even for twenty dollars a day. To an old Englishman I paid a thousand dollars monthly for doing nothing except driving the cattle to the mines. The price of a head of cattle had increased to \$40 and \$60, and horses were sold from one hundred to three hundred dollars a head. Compared to former times, these were enormous prices, but what benefit does a captain derive from high freight rates

35. Adolph Bruheim had come on the *California* from Honolulu in 1842, as a servant to one of the passengers. Being permitted to remain, he went to New Helvetia and was later employed by Cordua. In 1846 he entered into a contract with the United States Government to carry mail from Sacramento to Sonoma, and early in 1847 he was a member of the Donner relief expedition. (Bancroft, *Hist of Calif.*, II, 733, and Watson, Douglas, "The First Mail Contract in California," this *Quarterly*, X, 4, pp. 353-54.)

when he can secure no sailors, and of what avail is a high grain price to a farmer if he is obliged to let his harvest spoil? To aggravate matters, no one paid any attention to the laws which had been in force until now. Everybody had his own code of law or recognized only the law of the club; there was more stolen than bought. These were the beautiful golden times in which almost all of the old and well-to-do Californians became poor. Had I had only a few honest Mecklenburgers in my employ or in my district for neighbors! How we could have been the happiest and richest people, not by digging for gold but by the possession of land, by agriculture, and cattle raising! Although the value of the land in my district and the price of products had not increased so enormously, a young married man with a capital of two thousand dollars could have been a well-to-do man in ten years without any trouble. In the year 1845 I was prepared to grant homesteads to one hundred families, so that each would have received a farm of about seven *lasts*.³⁶ In addition, I would have been able to supply them with cows, oxen, horses, hogs, and chickens, and yet I could have had enough land left to graze thirty thousand head of cattle. In the year 1848 I was the richest man in the Sacramento Valley and as good a ranchero as could be found in California.

Before the discovery of gold I wrote repeatedly to my home country, informing people of what I knew of California's great fertility, its valuable products, and its healthful climate. I asked my friends to send me active young people. They could have made their fortunes here, but no one followed my well-meaning suggestions at that time. Thus, in 1843, after I had travelled over almost all of Upper California, and after I had become acquainted with the country, climate, and the various conditions, I wrote to my brother, Ferdinand, who lived at that time in Luebeck. He had come to Surinam at my solicitation and had lived there a long time with me and should have known me well. I wrote to him about everything: about the grass, about the oaks, the fir and pine trees of four hundred and fifty feet,³⁷ about the lead and the silver and gold, about the humming bird and great grizzly bear, about the anchovies and about the whales. I asked my brother to send me one or two experienced Mecklenburg farmers who would have been able to judge whether my opinion of California was right and whether the land was suited for North German immigrants. Everything else I could have arranged easily then. However, in 1845, two years after I had written, I received an unfavorable answer from my brother, and thus, time passed without results. A highly esteemed friend of my youth, John Pogge of Roggow, at least, called the attention of the Patriotic Society to my information and made my communication public in newspapers. But these efforts, too, were entirely without results. Had I had a chance to go to Europe myself I certainly should have found enough people willing to come to California.

Already in 1846, immediately after the American occupation of California, I acquired a lease on a small country estate from Captain [J. B. R.] Cooper. It was

36. A "last" is an old German measure. A farm of seven "lasts" would produce about fourteen tons of grain.

37. [Cordua's note]: According to Fremont, there are pines of this enormous height in California. The mammoth pine, whose bark was shown at an exhibition in New York, was three hundred and sixty-three feet high.

a beautiful site, known by the name of Corte Madera, on the north side of San Francisco Bay, not far from the coast and thirteen miles from San Francisco.³⁸

In the course of the same year Corte Madera was visited by forty to fifty whalers and many warships. Since San Francisco was not in a position to provide sufficient provisions, I intended to victual these ships. The large ships could anchor about two miles from Corte Madera. I had built a dwelling place and a large chicken house, brought five hundred chickens, one hundred tame milk cows, one thousand sheep, ten hogs and all kinds of implements for agriculture and horticulture to this estate. Furthermore, I had fenced in one square mile, six hundred and forty acres, for the purpose of raising all kinds of vegetables so that I could supply the ships with everything, from a head of lettuce and an egg to one thousand barrels of salted meat. The north side of the Bay is much cooler and hence more suitable than the Sacramento Valley for salting and smoking meat as well as for raising onions, potatoes, and cabbages. This establishment, combined with a tannery and a wagon factory,³⁹ would have become a regular gold mine even before the discovery of gold. How much more would this have been true later on in view of the proximity of San Francisco! At that time the price of a bottle of milk was \$1 to \$1.50, one pound of butter was \$1.50, one pound of beef 30¢, one pound of pork 70¢, one melon \$3 to \$5, one pound of potatoes, \$1, one pound of onions \$1.50, and everything else in similar proportions. My residence, Neu-Mecklenburg, was over two hundred miles away from Corte Madera. I, myself, could not reside at Corte Madera because I would have had to neglect my principal business. A good, honest man who was suited to be a manager I could not find. Therefore I had to return this establishment with loss in 1847. It consisted of about ten thousand acres of land and was covered with the most beautiful timber in California, such as pines, firs, cedars, and oaks. The only improvement I had to make for a ten years' lease of the place was the erection of an adobe house of the value of about three hundred and fifty dollars. According to my contract I would have become the owner of the property on payment of five thousand dollars after ten years—that meant in 1856. In the year 1849, the land was sold to the American Government for \$95,000.

VI

THE END OF NEW MECKLENBURG

Just during the unfortunate period of the intoxication caused by the first gold rush, in October, 1848, I received another letter from my brother, Ferdinand, which was just as unfavorable as his former communication. At the same time Mr. A. Neumann in Surinam, an old friend and acquaintance of mine, who had just become my son-in-law, wrote that he was willing to come, but wanted to know first under what conditions I would receive him. I could not blame him for this because he had a good business in Surinam. Yet, if he had come I should

38. [Cordua's note]: See the article, "Vier Tage in der Bai von San Francisco" by [Friedrich] Gerstäcker in Nos. 162-64 of the *Ausland*.

39. In the German text it is not quite clear whether Cordua means a wagon factory or an express business.

have gladly transferred to him and to my daughter, Marie, half of my property. Now I saw all my plans come to naught. I was alone without assistance and without friends, surrounded by vagabonds who thought only of their own interests. Ill and desperate I had to look around for some kind of assistance and was obliged to take a partner. I found a suitable man in Charles Covillaud, an Americanized Frenchman from Cognac. Extremely poor, he had come to me from North America in 1846. I employed him as a cooper and he worked as such from October, 1846, until December, 1847. Although he was not a good cooper, nevertheless, I was satisfied with him. In December, 1847, I discharged him because I did not need him at that time. Thereupon he became a gold washer on the Yuba River and at the same time carried on a profitable trade with my Indians. This was the principal reason for selecting him as my partner because naturally I now became a partner of his claim and of his trade. At the same time I had a most convenient location to which I could drive my cattle in order to slaughter them for the miners of the Yuba region.

In the spring of this year I had about five thousand head of cattle, by fall I had sold twelve hundred, and when Covillaud became my partner I still owned thirty-eight hundred head. Of these, 500 were sold during our partnership. Thus Covillaud had acquired in October, 1848, half of my possessions. When men are in distress or occupy an inferior position they are often kindly and good, but as soon as their conditions improve they frequently become the opposite. In the case of my Frenchman I soon learned that he was a very bad fellow without any character. He acted entirely against my interest and did not pay any attention to our contract. Since there were hardly any laws, the one who owned the most had to suffer. This and other things induced me to sell the other half of my property to Covillaud's brothers-in-law, Mr. Nye and Mr. Forster,⁴⁰ for twenty thousand dollars. Martin Nye was an American, born of German parents. He had been my majordomo for several years, but had lived for the last two years on his little farm on the other side of the Yuba above my estate. He was known as a cattle thief and never hesitated to steal what he could from me. In 1846, Colonel Fremont wanted to have him shot for the theft of some forty head of cattle from my ranch. I saved him, however, from this fate. Mr. Foster was a gentleman through and through, "every inch a gentleman," as the Americans say. Later these two sold their shares to Covillaud, who now united "lease and grant" by buying the lease from Captain Sutter.

When the news of the discovery of gold in California reached Europe many of my countrymen, even my brother, wanted to come to California. Now, however, I could not advise them to do so any longer. Everything was too late!

40. Covillaud had married Mary Murphy, for whom Marysville was later named. Michael C. Nye (according to Bancroft) came overland with the Bartleson party in 1841, was naturalized in 1844 and was granted the Willy Rancho on the Yuba, doubtless for his services in the Micheltorena campaign. He married, in 1847, Mrs. Harriet Pike (née Murphy) of the Donner party. He was a resident of Marysville in 1858, but later went to Oregon. William M. Foster, with his wife, Sarah Murphy, came to California with the Donner party. He was at New Helvetia in 1847, had a furniture store in San Francisco in 1847-48, and later kept a store at the mines, giving his name to Foster's Bar. He died in San Francisco in 1874. (Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, II, 770; III, 745; IV, 756.)

On the first of January, 1849, I transferred my Neu-Mecklenburg to the new owner, and left it with tears in my eyes the end of February. I went with three hundred pounds (4,800 ounces=120,000 *talers*)⁴¹ of the finest gold which had been gathered at the Yuba and Feather Rivers down-stream to San Francisco. My intention was to embark for Europe, but there was no opportunity to do so. Steam shipping was not yet in existence. To make matters worse, all Europe was in a state of revolution, according to the letters of my brother, and many of my affairs had not been settled. Thus I remained for the time being in San Francisco.

I participated in almost all of the newly started towns of California. In Sonoma, in Napa, and in Benicia I had one building lot each, and in San Francisco four large lots. Upon one of these San Francisco lots a little house was built which later became the great banking and express business of Adams and Company.⁴² Since the year 1845, I owned one-fifth (800 lots) of the town of Suttersville, which had been founded and surveyed at the Sacramento River. But Sacramento City (the former Nova Helvetia), which was located nearby, was a strong competitor. Sacramento did not have the favorable location of Suttersville because the latter was situated on the only elevation that could be found along the Sacramento River as far as two hundred miles inland. The land at the Sacramento River, where the large city of Sacramento was to develop, on the other hand, experiences a flood almost annually. Very often I have travelled there with my boat and have measured eight to ten feet of water. Yet through the intrigues of A. Sutter, Jr., and several American speculators, Sacramento City has become the large beautiful inland metropolis which adorns the shore of the Sacramento River. Suttersville, on the other hand, did not prosper and is today nothing but pasture and garden land. In the floods by which Sacramento City suffered in later years, not only many people were killed, as in 1850, but millions of dollars of goods were lost. Therefore it has been necessary to elevate the whole city more than seven feet. This is typical of the wild speculations of the Yankees!

In order to make a success of Suttersville the owners had to do something. With two of my partners, George MacKinstry⁴³ and John Bidwell, I decided therefore to establish a business house. I trusted both of these men because I knew them for eight years as bookkeepers and agents for Sutter and as honest people. They had, by gold washings and trading under the firm name of MacKinstry and Company, earned with three men at the Feather River fifty-four thousand dollars within three months. I now bought several shipments of goods cheap at auction. As I did not like MacKinstry's way of acting from the very beginning I employed a well-recommended young man from Hamburg, Gustav Wilhelm Berteau, at a salary of five hundred dollars a month to take care of my interests in Suttersville. But the evening before the schooner *Itrovide* was to sail

41. About \$90,000.

42. At 99 Montgomery Street.

43. George McKinstry, Jr., was an overland immigrant of 1846 who became the first sheriff of the northern district, at Sutter's Fort, 1846-47. He was active in relief measures for the Donner party and his letters on this subject were published in the *California Star*. He was prominent in public affairs in Sacramento in early mining times, and had a trading post on the Cosumnes in 1849-50. He was a physician in Old San Diego in the early '70's. (Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, IV, 725.)

with the first shipment, accompanied by Mr. Berteau, to Suttersville, Mr. Berteau resigned, remarking that he believed that he would be able to make more money in the southern mines. In this way two complete shipments of goods fell in the hands of MacKinstry and Company and were lost to me by careless trading and speculating. The loss which I suffered by this and by the failure of Suttersville in general, I estimated at fifty thousand dollars.

It had been my intention originally to establish a business in San Francisco with agencies in Suttersville and at the Yuba. Now, however, the goods which were left, I brought with much effort and great expense to the mines in the Yuba region. My business flourished quite well here because almost all of my former Indians were gathered around me and brought me their daily output of gold every evening and received goods in exchange for payment. This angered the envious Americans and caused them to add to their local and mining laws the clause that no Indian was allowed to pan gold at the river. Many a good Indian who did not want to obey such arbitrary laws was shot by the greedy gold hunters and I, myself, was in danger of losing my life.

In May, 1850, an old acquaintance, Mr. Rudolf Westhoff from Coblenz, visited me at the Yuba River. It happened that I was not at home at the time. His companion, Mr. Görlitz from Breslau, made a fire, and in a few moments everything was turned into ashes. My loss was twenty-eight thousand dollars. It was an accident for which the careless fellow from Breslau was responsible. Practically with each of the numerous fires in San Francisco I suffered losses, as I did also in the great flood of Sacramento City in the winter of 1850. From the chief pay-office of the government with Captain Folsom in charge, my deposit of one hundred ounces of gold was stolen. At the Yuba River my agent Ferary robbed me of another two hundred ounces of gold. At various places people stole four of my houses from their foundations. In one night at the Yuba River thirty-three mules, valued at two hundred and fifty to three hundred dollars each were stolen, and at various times six fine saddle horses were taken. All I had left was a wagon with two mules. With this I left the Yuba mines and went by way of Marysville down the Sacramento River. At the Hock Farm I was introduced by Sutter to Mr. F. Gerstäcker,⁴⁴ who was returning from an unsuccessful gold expedition to the Feather River. He, as well as his companions, was soaking wet from head to foot, partly because of the incessant rain and partly because of having to wade through small rivers which are formed here during the rainy season. They were all on foot and had reached this point after many tribulations.

In the dress of a California gold miner no one could be recognized, neither the rich nor the scholar. In the Hotel de France at Sacramento City, I met through Sutter, Prince Paul of Württemberg. The prince, a scholar and a widely travelled man, tall and corpulent, was very simple, without the slightest conceit and extremely interesting in conversation. Nothing but curiosity had led him, immedi-

44. Friedrich Gerstäcker, who was the author of *Gold! Ein californisches Lebensbild aus dem Jahre 1849*, Leipzig, 1858; *Kalifornien's Gold-u. Quecksilber-District*, nach: *The California Herald*, Leipzig, 1849, and various other stories and sketches about California, some of which were translated into French and English. He had a long career as a writer and became one of Germany's most popular novelists.

ately after the discovery of gold, to come to the wild, disorderly California where not the slightest comforts could be obtained—even for money. He had left his escorts in Mexico and knew how to put up with everything. Often I had the pleasure of drinking a toast to Germany with him. I was pleased to note also that he would acknowledge the cordial greeting of a blunt American with a hearty handshake.

VII

FAREWELL TO CALIFORNIA

All my endeavors to make a success of Suttersville failed, and all my efforts to save what was left were in vain. Hardly any one paid his debts; the daily expenses were large. Without home and without comforts I journeyed from one place to another. Only a short time ago wallowing in gold, I was now without hopes for the future. Many a glass was emptied to chase away thoughts of numerous vexations. Almost everywhere fellow-sufferers met, who tried to drown their sorrows in drinking. I was on the verge of despair and ruin at the time in which the disorder of the masses of the people who had gathered in California reached its highest peak. Fortune's favorites acted often more foolishly than those upon whom the goddess had already turned her back.

Until the beginning of 1851, I lived like this. I travelled from one town to the other and looked into all sources in an attempt to work my way up again. In May of this year I established a hay business in connection with Mr. C. P. Scholl from Württemberg. In the Napa Valley, which is covered with tall wild oats, I still had two hay presses. On the 22d of May I began making hay with twenty-five men, pressing it and shipping it at once to San Francisco. At first we sold a ton here for sixty dollars; later, when the prices were falling, for twenty-five dollars. By July we had shipped and sold over four hundred tons. Five hundred more tons of the best hay, made of oats, barley, clover, and vetch, were still stacked on the shores of the Napa River. As the price had fallen considerably because of the large supply we intended to let our stores lie until the late fall or the spring of the following year. We were still busy with pressing when, unexpectedly, a quarter of a mile from our place in a field of stubble barley a fire broke out, caused by the carelessness of the people who were harvesting the barley. The fire quickly gained ground and all our stacks, together with the presses, were consumed by the flames. According to our figures, the loss amounted to about twenty thousand dollars.

A few days later I was in San Francisco and took lodging with Mr. Johann Huber⁴⁵ from Paderborn, with whom I had become acquainted at the Sacramento River and in the Yuba mines. In the year 1840, he had emigrated from Westphalia by the Osage in Missouri and had been lucky enough to buy twenty-one large building lots in San Francisco shortly before the discovery of gold.

With irresistible force I was drawn once more to the Sacramento and Yuba Rivers, into the California mountains. I desired to see again the spot of my former

45. Bancroft (*Hist. of Calif.*, III, 789) mentions a Henry Huber, an overland immigrant with the Bartleson party in 1841, and grantee of the Honcut rancho in 1845 for which he was an unsuccessful claimant in 1853. He was at Sutter's Fort in 1846 and an owner of lots in San Francisco in 1847-48.

happiness, which had faded a long time ago, and to shake hands with my old dear friends and acquaintances. In March, 1852, I started on my last trip for the Sacramento Valley and the mountains. At four o'clock in the afternoon I left for Sacramento City with numerous fellow travellers. The mighty steamer quickly cut through the quiet waves of the Bay. But not until dawn of the next day—a mild spring morning—did we pass beautiful Suttersville with its green pleasant hills, defying the highest floods of the stream. It was not yet seven o'clock when we landed in front of Sacramento City—at the large high levee which had been built to protect the city from floods. After a short stay we went on to Marysville where we landed six hours later. Formerly I had needed six to eight days for this trip of two hundred miles, now I made it in sixteen hours. From the mouth of the Sacramento up to the Yuba, every bend of the river, almost every tree at the shore, and all the Indian villages had been known to me. Now the banks of the river, where formerly the Indians hunted bears, raccoon, and deer, were covered with growing cities, beautiful hotels, landing places, and farms of all kinds. All the Indian villages had disappeared. A similar change had taken place in the mountains. There too I found large cities, and highways lined with excellent inns. It appeared as if they had been there for centuries, but no trace of the natives could be found. My old place at the Yuba, which had been destroyed by fire, the neighbors had named "Cordua's Bar." Miners had made themselves at home there. Besides several Americans my cousin, Otto Hückstädt from Malchow, and a Mr. Simonis from Güstrow, were among them. Other Mecklenburgers whom I met in California were Mr. Wöhler from Schwerin, Mr. Schmidt from Neustadt, Mr. Rose from Wismar, and a Jewish gentleman by the name of Schliemann from Neu-Buckow, an agent of Rothschild.⁴⁶ Without being able to greet my old friends, the Indians, I soon returned to San Francisco. My health was ruined, my future prospects very hazy, and the memory of the past few years so painful that I disliked to stay here any longer. I had lost all my courage and despaired almost of the whole world. In the ten years which I had spent in California I had not spent one hundred dollars for clothing and pleasure, and yet hundreds of thousands of dollars had disappeared. Where I had operated personally, I had earned much money; where others had done business for me I had lost. One misfortune after another had come—fire, water, swindle, and theft—until the devil had taken everything. In all my life I had not worked so hard and had not been obliged to fight such terrible difficulties as within the last two years in California—yet I had lived like a dog. I probably would have been more fortunate if I had not been tortured always by the thought that I had to make good my losses in Surinam in order to go back to Europe as a made man, and if I had not made the mistake of selling my ranch, Neu-Mecklenburg. However, as far as the first point is concerned no one can reproach me for this unless he feels like defending the maxim: "Honesty is not always the best policy." Similarly, no one can blame me for having sold my ranch. Anybody would have done the same under the unfavorable

46. Louis Schliemann, a brother of Heinrich Schliemann, the excavator of ancient Troy. The famous archaeologist himself visited California in 1851 after the death of his brother.

conditions, especially since my title was doubtful and the cattle, grazing without protection in the open, were stolen daily. In the course of twelve months, to be sure, the conditions improved considerably. On my ranch was established the beautiful city of Marysville. My property titles were recognized in 1854, by the commission appointed by the United States and now the value of my original property in California amounts to perhaps more than six million dollars. Yuba County, my old Neu-Mecklenburg, is now one of the most densely populated districts in the Sacramento Valley, inhabited by a population of about sixty thousand white people. Cattle and game have disappeared. Instead one sees on the roads and highways which cross in all directions migratory miners on horseback and on foot, stages, freight wagons, and pack-animals hurrying to and from the rich gold mines. The water of the Yuba was formerly as clear as crystal; now it is muddy on account of the gold washings. Marysville which was my former place of dwelling is one of the most prosperous towns of California with over twenty thousand inhabitants. A number of hotels, churches, and theatres are now in this town. At the spot where I had my garden are now several hundreds of large warehouses and stores with all kinds of goods. Fifteen to twenty steamers travel on the river, on which, fifteen years ago, I had been the first skipper, causing the Indians of the village on the shore to stare in amazement at my boat. My resolution to leave California was therefore final. In May, 1852, I took passage with the brig *Caesar*, Captain Weissenhagen, stopping in San Francisco on her voyage from Bremen to Honolulu.

VIII

NOTES ON NATURAL HISTORY

Before I end my story of California I desire to list on the following pages, to the best of my knowledge, the animals, plants, and natural resources of the country and make a few remarks about its natives.

1. ANIMALS IN CALIFORNIA

A. Mammals

Three species of squirrel (the common, the flying, and the ground squirrel); one species of kangaroo-rat (nice, harmless animals which stay in the neighborhood of old decayed villages, but which we also found on my ranch where they danced around in large numbers on beautiful summer evenings; later when dogs and cats became more plentiful I saw one only occasionally); two species of mouse; one species of German marmot; one of gopher; one of mole; one of hare; one of rabbit; one of beaver, living at the lakes and rivers, usually in schools. (In general this beaver lives in a different manner from the beaver of the Rocky Mountains. The latter is forced by conditions to build large dams which the California beaver rarely needs.) Three species of marsupial; two of opossum; two of skunk (among them the pole-cat); one species of land-otter, in the rivers, inland swamps, and lakes. (Its fur is worth six to eight dollars.) One species of sea-otter, at the seacoast (Russia and China pay eighty to one hundred and fifty dollars for its fur); one species of weasel; two species of bear, the grizzly (which becomes

six to twelve hundred pounds in weight and lives practically everywhere at the rivers and in the canyons of the mountains) and the small black bear (which is only found in the higher mountains in California); one species of raccoon; one species of wolf; three species of fox (among them the prairie wolf or coyote); one species of jaguar (the red tiger); one species of antelope (blue-grey with white neck; it is the same kind which one finds in the Rocky Mountains, in fact the only one which exists in North America); one species of elk; two species of deer, the black and the red-tail (the buck of the former is larger than the common deer of Germany).

B. Birds

Eleven species of hawk and falcon; two of vulture; two of owl; two of woodpecker; two of starling (one species entirely black, the other with beautiful red spots at the throat and on the breast. The latter is doing great damage to seed in the ground for it alights upon the fields in great numbers. It usually nests in the tule and follows the settlers. In the first years I did not find it on my fields, towards the end I saw it here and there.) One species of lark; two of linnet; four of pigeon; one of quail; one of pheasant; six of heron; one of ibis (of grey color); five species of snipe; three of sea-gull; one of pelican; one of swan (of white color and migratory); three of goose (among them a migratory bird found also in Germany); two species of diver; and finally twenty-seven species of duck. (Of these [last] about twenty species are migratory birds, which breed in the North and spend the winter in California. Among the species which stay in California is found our tame green-headed duck.)

C. Amphibians

Three species of water turtle; two of toad; three of frog; three of small lizard. (To these belongs the horned lizard which lives on the dry, sandy ground in the intermediary mountains of California and in the Rocky Mountains. It is, I believe, native only to North America.) Six species of snake, of which several are poisonous. (Among the poisonous snakes one frequently finds the rattlesnake; among the non-poisonous one is distinguished by red strips on both sides of the back.)

D. Fish

One species of sturgeon; one of bass; one of salmon (weighing from six to forty-five pounds); one of sea trout; one of anchovy; three of white fish.

E. Insects and Other Small Invertebrates

Mosquitoes, flies, wasps, ants, grasshoppers, butterflies, and beetles are found in great numbers. Among butterflies and beetles I have seen nothing special except a rather large wood beetle. The louse of the Indians differs from our louse. There is found here a species of crab, and among the mussels there is one large sea-mussel (*pelome*) whose shell glitters inside like mother-of-pearl, and also one edible river-mussel.

2. PLANTS

Seven species of pine and fir, among them the largest of the earth (mammoth pines); five of oak, among them the evergreen oak; one species of sycamore; one of walnut; one of hazelnut; one of alder; one of willow; one of gooseberry in the intermediary mountains (the berry has a very thick skin, but grows as large as a pigeon's egg); one species of blackberry; one of manzanita; two of thorn; one of wild oat (its grain is very light, its stalk which grows six feet high becomes as thick as thin bamboo; one finds regions of ten to twenty square miles where nothing but this oat grows, so thick and luxurious that it surpasses many of our oat fields); eight species of grass (among them are three species of beautiful bush grass and one species whose seed resembles the canary seed, but is smaller); one species of alfalfa (the best herb-like fodder for cattle, the seed is similar to that of the clover); two species of clover, red and white; one of caraway; one of onion; twenty-three species of bulbous plants (among them the soap-plant); one species of mustard which grows six to eight feet and is the worst weed among the grain; two species of thistle; two of teasel; one of strawberry.

3. MINERALS

Gold and mercury are found in large amounts, silver and lead very little, sulphur, salt, rock salt, and iron ore are assumed to be in the ground.

IX

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS

The white population of California consisted, at the time of my arrival, chiefly of descendants of Mexicans. They liked to call themselves descendants of the old Spaniards although their Spanish blood is very thin. Their complexion is somewhat dark with the exception of the women of the upper classes. The genuine old Californians are in general good honest people although they are somewhat distrustful of foreigners and have a deadly hatred for Americans. Californians and Americans are, indeed, two peoples who, because of their differences in character, customs, and principles, will never be able to form a whole. The Californians are hospitable and friendly; they like games, dancing, and music, kiss and love each other, and have in general many of the habits of the people of our Mecklenburg. They like the Germans better than any other nation. On the other hand the Americans are cold, arrogant, proud, and sly. The religion of the Californians is Catholic. The Indians are of one race, but are divided into many tribes according to whether they dwell in the South or in the North or in the mountain regions. They differ somewhat in size and physiognomy. The Indians of Southern California have a language whose sounds are similar to the Polish language. Their faces are more pleasant, not infrequently they have a Roman nose and even lighter complexion than the Indians of the North. The latter tattoo themselves above the eyebrows, on the head and on the chin. The mountain Indians have a wiry stature but are considerably smaller than the others. It is fair to assume that there are thirty different tribes in the country and just as many languages. Prac-

tically every thirty miles one hears a different dialect. An example will show that the tribes are related to each other, and at the same time differ. The Indians of the Feather River call water, "mummi," those of the upper Sacramento call it, "mem," and those of the lower Sacramento, "kik." The reason for the development and the existence of these various dialects among the tribes living very close to each other one believes to have been found in the fact that the tribes formerly and even today live in continuous warfare. A single incident will show with what cannibalistic rage the hostile tribes tried to destroy each other. In my neighborhood at the Feather River, shortly before Sutter started his settlement, a whole village of over five hundred people was burned by a tribe which lived about ten miles away by the Sacramento River. Even in my time many skulls and bones could be found at the scene of the conflagration, a silent proof of the crime.

The Indian has hardly any conception of religion. He knows, however, very well what is mine and thine and is capable of distinguishing between good and bad. Everything disagreeable which afflicts him he ascribes to an evil spirit. A higher being which we call "God" he does not know. If a death occurs, the whole village assembles and mourns the deceased by howling aloud, and similarly they bewail their dead on a special day every year. A like wail is started after sunset when strange events as floods, diseases, and other plagues, whose causes are unknown to them, are about to occur. For the sun and moon, both of which the Indian calls suns (*panum*)—one of the night and one of the day—they have a special veneration. The Indians of the valley bury their dead in the village, wrapped up and placed in an oblique sitting position. The mountain Indians (Tankus) cremate their dead. Everyone makes a sacrifice at the cremation. The value of such a sacrifice depends upon the more or less friendly relations with the deceased, and many throw without consideration their most valued possessions into the flames. If a chief or his wife dies the very best things have to be sacrificed. I witnessed at the lower Sacramento how they took out the intestines of the deceased chief and filled the body with Venetian and white corals. These corals are made of human bones, and the white ones are the more valuable to the Indians. As a symbol of mourning the women of the mountain Indians, especially the old ones, blacken their faces and cover their black hair with a kind of resin, so that the whole head appears as if covered by a tar plaster. For their dances they stand in a circle. These dances consist mainly of jumps and of pantomime. Men and women dance alternately. The songs of the women, drum beats, and harp playing accompany the dance. Both sexes are adorned with headgear which consist of artistically arranged upright feathers, ordinarily the tail feathers of a woodpecker. The men paint their entire bodies before the dance, especially the face, in red, black, and white. This is done too when they start on the war-path which is always opened by a war-dance. Otherwise the men are entirely naked. The women have a tuft of willow bast about a foot and a half in length fastened around the waist—both in front and in back. The men are passionately devoted to gambling, their principal entertainment and their greatest pleasure. They often gamble away all of their possessions. They play a very simple game of chance.

The chief trick is deception. Both parties sit opposite each other, the player sings and whirls his fists, moving them around the body, from front to back, finally holding them again in front of him. The partner must guess in which hand the other player holds something, usually three little pieces of wood about an inch long. Who guesses correctly wins.

A young man who wishes to marry tries with gifts to get the consent of the parents of the chosen girl. A wedding ceremony does not take place at all. Outside of the hereditary chiefs, of which every village has one or two according to its size, a man has rarely more than one wife. But the chiefs have two or three. After marriage the husband and wife live together in a household. They are very much devoted to their children.

The principal foods of the Indians are acorns and grass seeds. Tribes of the Sacramento Valley celebrate, therefore, the "Festival of Grass Seed" in June and the "Festival of Acorns" in October. The various species of oaks produce acorns which differ in size and in taste. Of these they select the best. After the acorns are shelled and pounded into flour, the Indians know how to remove the bitter taste by water. Of the acorn flour they make wholesome and palatable bread, without any special dishes, at the banks of the river. Of grass seed they make a still better bread in the same manner. Green acorns, picked before they are ripe, shelled, split, dried, and pulverized make a good mush or a thick soup. Besides these, the Indians bake a fine cake of dried and pulverized grass-hoppers. Of game and fish there is never any lack. In the fall, salmon is caught in such amounts that they can live for months on dried fish. The sturgeon is caught during the month of May in great numbers and its dried spawn is the Indian's delicacy. The only cooking dish which the Indians have is a round, water-tight basket. This they make of especially prepared strands of tough roots which are sewed together circularly. In these baskets they cook soup on hot stones. The Indians do not know definite meal times. At times they eat very much, while at others they go without food for a long time. It is noticeable that the women in the Sacramento Valley eat no beef while the men like it very much. Bear meat and pork the Indian will not touch. As a primitive man the Indian is dependent upon the products of the soil, and thus the wild savage can get along nicely where a civilized European would die of hunger if left to himself.

The Indian easily learns how to work and knows how to help himself when in need or distress. Everything he starts he wishes to complete as soon as possible. His work is therefore very often unsatisfactory. If he has started something of which he can not see the end he becomes easily discouraged. He can carry immense burdens for miles and he is a good marksman with the bow and arrow. The river Indians are excellent divers and swimmers. In general the Indian is rather cowardly. He never trusts a man again who once has broken a promise to him. When he is offended he always tries to take revenge. If an Indian is killed by a white man the relatives of the Indian will kill the first white man who crosses their path. With the beginning of civilization and the introduction of the Christian religion in California the misfortune of the Californian Indian started. In conse-

quence of the founding of the great missions the happily living children of nature were forced to leave their home, to live closely together in the barrack-like buildings of the missions and to work for foreigners. Populations of whole villages, even in the Sacramento Valley, were forced into these institutions. Old and incapable people were baptized immediately and then killed with a dagger.⁴⁷ The Indians who were capable of working, as well as the children, were driven into the missions. When Sutter established himself in 1839 in the Sacramento Valley, new misfortune came upon these peaceful natives of the country. Their services were demanded immediately. Those who did not want to work were considered as enemies. With other tribes the field was taken against the hostile Indian. Declaration of war was not made. The villages were attacked usually before daybreak when everybody was still asleep. Neither old nor young was spared by the enemy, and often the Sacramento River was colored red by the blood of the innocent Indians, for these villages usually were situated at the banks of the rivers. During a campaign one section of the attackers fell upon the village by way of land. All the Indians of the attacked village naturally fled to find protection on the other bank of the river. But there they were awaited by the other half of the enemy and thus the unhappy people were shot and killed with rifles from both sides of the river. Seldom an Indian escaped such an attack, and those who were not murdered were captured. All children from six to fifteen years of age were usually taken by the greedy white people. The village was burned down and the few Indians who had escaped with their lives were left to their fate.⁴⁸ Sutter usually claimed the children as a payment for the cost of the war. They became regular commercial objects because the inhabitants of the coast preferred the Indians of the Sacramento Valley as servants, and paid good prices for them. In this way a regular trade of human beings developed. Gradually there came to our settlements rude hunters who had crossed over the Rocky Mountains. They were mostly vagabonds without feeling and character who had fled from the United States on account of some crime. These were the real enemies of the Indians. They have committed many atrocious deeds without being called to justice. Sutter had been appointed as Alcalde and Commander of the North by the Mexican Government. As such he should have been the protector of all people, but he often failed because of selfish interest. As fast as the immigration from the United States into California increased, just so rapidly the number of Indians in the country decreased. Where the Anglo-Saxon appears the red-skin has to yield, says the American. He does not realize that the disappearance of the Indian is usually the consequence of the many diseases and vices which the white man brings along. By these the innocent and inexperienced natives are ruined, although it can not be denied that at the western boundary of the United States, in the Rocky Mountains, many tribes can still be found, being forced west by the young American nation. The Californian Indians could neither be driven out nor could they emigrate, because the neighboring Indians refused to admit them into their territories.

47. Cordua repeats here one of the unproven rumors which were current in those years.

48. The animosity which Cordua felt toward Sutter explains these obvious exaggerations.

From my first appearance in California until my departure from this beautiful country I lived in peace with all the neighboring tribes in the valley as well as in the mountains. I could travel among them entirely alone and without fear of being annoyed whenever I wanted. Days and nights I have stayed with them without thinking of any danger. I have never participated in any of Sutter's campaigns against them, but have rather regretted these attacks. Only once, in the fall of 1846, was I forced to take up arms against a tribe which lived in the mountains about forty miles away from me. These were the Indians of the Luckno villages. They were hostile to the Indians who surrounded me and had stolen three horses and ten heads of cattle from me. As soon as my intention was known among the surrounding tribes all declared their willingness to participate in the campaign. With seven chiefs, about two hundred Indians, and two Europeans, Mr. Stevens, an old Holsteiner, and Mr. O'Fallan, an Irishman,⁴⁹ I took the field against the Luckno villages in war-like fashion. We reached their places on the afternoon of the second day. At our approach there arose in the valley where the villages were situated such a ghastly war-cry of the enemy that it echoed in the mountains. In a few moments I was deserted by everybody and heard only the howl in the distance. To my great pleasure I soon found the two Europeans. Shortly after twilight my Indians brought in four prisoners, among them the first chief of the enemy. Stevens, in his rage, drew a long knife out of the scabbard and wanted to decapitate the chief. I asked him, however, to wait with the punishment until the next morning. He was satisfied therefore to tie the prisoners' hands behind their backs. We found skulls and skeletons of the stolen animals in the villages, which proved sufficiently that they were guilty and the confessions of the captured Indians confirmed everything. A tent was pitched for myself and my two companions and in front of it a large fire was lighted. The Indians camped in the open around small fires. The four prisoners sat at the fire near our tent and were strictly guarded. Pondering about the fate of the poor Indians I lay on my straw bed without being able to sleep. Suddenly a shot fell nearby. The whole camp was aroused at once. The prisoners who had sat close together with their hands on their backs had untied themselves unnoticed. The chief had run away with a handsome young Indian. Stevens, who was on guard, had sent a bullet after them in vain. He was beside himself with anger while I was secretly pleased. I lay down again hoping that the two other Indians would follow the example of their companions. To my regret, I found them the next morning at the same place where I had left them. Both had confessed to having participated in the theft and the other Indians had confirmed this. Thus there was nothing left except to give a judgment. Stevens, O'Fallan, and all of the Indians were for capital punishment. As their chief I was forced to agree with them for leniency was out of the ques-

49. Probably William Stevens, who was at Sutter's Fort in 1847, and Jasper O'Farrell. The latter was an Irish surveyor who had come to California in 1843, in 1845 served as quartermaster in Sutter's force, from 1844-46 lived at San Rafael, and in 1847-48 became the official surveyor of the northern district and made the permanent street survey of San Francisco. In 1848 he exchanged a Marin County rancho for that of Jonive in Sonoma County. Later he bought the adjoining Estero Americano, and for these and for Capay in Yolo County he was a claimant in 1852. He later served in the State senate and as State harbor commissioner, and died in San Francisco in 1875, at the age of 58. See also *Quarterly of the Society of Calif. Pioneers*, Vol. X, 1933, pp. 85-100.

tion. Both delinquents were tied and placed on a large rock. Stevens, an old soldier who had fought at Waterloo under Napoleon, executed the sentence. We placed the bodies on the rock, put the bones of the cattle in their hands and left the camp and place of the execution. O'Fallan had taken two beautiful young Indian girls of six and seven years as prisoners of war. I bought both of them for a tame cow. After two months I gave the children back to their mother, the wife of the chief, and forwarded a few presents along with them. In this manner the Indians of Luckno became my friends.

Since the cattle were not guarded in the open and since many Indians lived around us, we could not deal with cattle thieves otherwise than by punishing them with execution. If we had allowed the Indians to become accustomed to beef or horse meat, even capital punishment would not have kept them in check. Therefore, it was better to sacrifice a victim at the beginning than to be obliged to destroy whole tribes later on. In the San Joaquin Valley and the surrounding mountains lived many Indians who formerly belonged to the missions. These ate mainly horse meat and millions [!] of horses had been killed by them and thousands of tame horses are still stolen every year from the herds near the settlements on the coast.

* * *

On May, 1852, after a stay of ten years I left California. Many people had I befriended, hundreds had I entertained at my table, my house always had been open and a free hotel for all travellers. Yet I did not leave a single friend behind. When my glance had fallen upon Yerba Buena for the first time there had been but six houses and ten huts, and the many bare sand hills had offered a sad sight. Now the barren hills had disappeared together with the old name of Yerba Buena. The parting glance fell upon the large and beautiful City of San Francisco, the queen of commerce of the whole western coast of America. A city of the size of Bremen, built from material and by people of all nations of the world. At points where ten years ago ships anchored there were large warehouses. This tremendous metamorphosis had taken place in hardly four years! He who knows me will realize that I am little inclined to sentimentality. Yet in this moment I had a feeling as if my chest was to burst open and I had to hide in a quiet corner in order to collect myself.

CONDEMNED BAR IN 1849

An Excerpt from the Journal of Erastus Saurin Holden

INTRODUCTION

THE accompanying narrative was written by E. S. Holden in the fall of 1849 while at the mines at Condemned Bar, in what is now Placer County. The original journal, now in the possession of his son, E. D. Holden, was not addressed to anyone and was not signed. Presumably it was intended for his wife, whom he had left in Boston. She died in the early part of 1850. Years afterwards it was found among his papers.

E. S. Holden was born on January 5, 1812, at Brunswick, Maine. In 1833 he married Jane Dana, of Watertown, Massachusetts. Of this union a son and a daughter were born. Previous to his marriage he had moved to Boston and was graduated from the Massachusetts College of Pharmacy. He opened his store in Boston, and at one time he owned three drug stores there.

In 1849 the wild excitement of the gold fields in California induced him to leave Boston and go to the mines. In July, his party of nineteen left Boston on the steamer *Empire City* for Chagres. They accomplished the tiresome but interesting trip across the Isthmus of Panama and arrived at the over-crowded town of Panama filled with some 1500 people waiting for the steamer for San Francisco. Cholera was epidemic, and many died. There was very little amusement for this crowd. A small newspaper was started—the *Panama Herald*—with George K. Fitch as editor, who was coming to California to engage in newspaper work. In its issue of August 25, 1849, appeared a bitter and well-deserved denunciation of the American Consul and the steamship agents, both having taken undue advantage of the marooned Americans. J. H. Redington was the secretary of the protesting organization and E. S. Holden one of its committee of fourteen.

The steamer *Oregon*, Pearson, master, sailed from Panama on Tuesday, August 25, 1849, for San Francisco, arriving September 18 with 400 passengers, although the passenger capacity was only 75. Temporary bunks had been erected on the deck.

J. H. Redington of the Holden party had on the trip arranged a partnership to go into the wholesale drug business in San Francisco, and they opened the first wholesale drug store in California, at 125 Sansome Street, early in 1850. Branches were opened in Stockton and Sonora, and on August 17, 1850, E. S. Holden took charge of the branch stores and went to Stockton to live. The firm was dissolved on September 28, 1850, Holden taking the branch stores as his share. The Stockton store was at Main and El Dorado Streets. Here, E. S. Holden in 1852, erected the first two-story brick building in Stockton, and the drug store was known as the "Sign of the Good Samaritan." After eighty-three years this corner is still occupied by a drug store, and the Holden Drug Company is still in existence, but in another location.

Being a very progressive citizen, Holden entered at once into all town activities—agriculture, horticulture and blooded stock raising (which had until then

received very little attention)—and it was through his efforts that an agricultural society was formed in 1860. Of this he was president for six years. The best which could be produced came from his three farms.

During the years 1859-60-61 and '71 he was elected Mayor of Stockton. With the growth of the mines, railroad communication became necessary, and his untiring efforts in this direction resulted in the building of more than one railroad.

From 1851 to 1875 he had purchased forty-seven separate parcels of land—commercial, residential and farming properties.

On February 5, 1855, he married Mary Maria Lyon, of Stockton, and to them three sons were born. In 1879, E. S. Holden sold the drug business to one of his sons and the family moved to San Francisco. There he died, in 1885, at the age of 77 years.

E. D. HOLDEN.*

HISTORY OF A TRIP FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO CONDEMNED BAR CALIFORNIA, 1849

You see by this, that I have become a gold digger, not a Digger Indian, but a real digger. Carrier of water and hewer of wood, for so a miner must be, as you will see by a description of a miner's life which I will briefly give you.

We left San Francisco Sept. 28, 1849, ten days after arriving, for Sacramento, on an old rickety steamer and paid the moderate sum of \$30.00 for a stand-up berth and a dollar for a miserable supper.

Our company numbered nineteen of good jolly fellows, Redington, Burnham and others from East Boston.

In Sacramento we purchased \$100.00 of mining tools and \$100.00 of provisions. Chartered a four-ox team for \$300.00, and arrived here the second day of our pilgrimage. We purchased our provisions cheap compared to Boston prices, say for salt pork 75¢ per lb., coffee and tea \$4.00, sugar 60¢, barrel of crackers \$90.00. Flour \$100.00 per bbl. and everything in proportion. When opposite Fort Sutter three miles from Sacramento, that generous old warhorse Genr'l Sutter sent us a quarter of fat beef. After driving 17 miles we layed up for the night, built a rousing fire, made coffee, substituted water for milk, an article not known here, only in one's imagination, beefsteak was at a premium. All were busy with rare cuts stuck on a long stick cooking it to suit their taste. After our record feast, washing dishes in a pint of water, talking of home, and singing a few songs, we rolled ourselves up in our blankets for a night's snore. About 12 o'clock we were all aroused by the unearthly howling of a score or more of coyotes hungry for our beef, two had succeeded in stealing some choice pieces, in consequence, we appointed a guard of five to watch the camp. The guard were a brave five if constant firing for hours is a proof, yet no dead animals could be found in the morning.

*Mr. E. D. Holden is the son of Erastus Saurin Holden from whose diary we print the following excerpts.

From Sacramento to Condemned Bar, our destination, is 30 miles. Our first day's march, 17 miles, was over a broad prairie, or oak openings, which extend over a vast stretch of country bordering on the American River and extending to the mountains and 300 miles south.

Our route was over a level country with now and then, like Angels' visits, small hills and little bluffs thinly covered with large umbrageous oaks, which in the distance resemble an apple orchard, the trees promiscuously set out, it is one of the prettiest landscapes I ever saw. The roads over the plains are good, equal to any in New England, being traveled so much by miners passing from one place to others, but very dusty. The earth is like an ash heap and looks like a barren wilderness. A six months' scorching sun has dried up all vegetation, nothing but the oaks look green, excepting the miners, they are a rough, hard looking set, yet most of them are gentlemen and well bred, a rough mode of living and a rough business, is a miner's necessity. If this country were blessed with monthly rains it would be one of the best agricultural countries in the world, the climate is perfect and soil good. Our teamster sounded his trumpet at daylight, an unthankful hint to turn out, or rather to turn up, a committee of one made the fire and put the coffee steeping. Our long sticks soon came in use, for cooking steaks, soon after our novel repast the team (4 ox team) was under way, rate of speed, one to two miles an hour.

Arrived at the Condemned Bar mines at five P. M. About 200 miners at work. We pitched our tents, and prepared for supper, one more novel meal. Redington, Burnham and others took shovels, picks and pans and went to the river to try their skill in mining, after two hours' hard work returned with two bits worth of gold, was disgusted, had seen the elephant, head and tail and was ready to return to San Francisco and did after a week's trial. I purchased all their traps and will remain on my own hook until our goods arrive, which will be in December. The second day here we all started in for a fortune, after digging and rocking the cradle all day we took the gold to the camp and appointed a committee of seven to count the proceeds of our day's work. The committee reported the amount of four dollars, to be divided with eight of us, gave each the enormous amount of fifty cents. This day's work was the climax of discouragement and most of the company left to take a rest on the seashore where cradles are not rocked, being neither gold nor babies there.

Miners must have strength, patience and perseverance or else they will not succeed and hence it is, so many return to San Francisco and other towns yet fortunes are made here every month by some lucky strike by a few of the 40 or 50,000 supposed to be in the mines.

The miners are from all parts of the world, a cosmopolitan race, many of them drink and gamble, hence make no money, many are prospecting or seeking new diggings and make but little money, if any, but those who remain in one place and work steady and with patience make money. Hundreds of miners die and are buried with little ceremony, if any, die for want of good care and nursing, for comfortable quarters and little delicacies to make one comfortable.

After Redington and friends left, being among strangers and feeling lonesome I took my gun and some grub and started out to find a better place. I took a trip to the top of a high mountain some six miles distant which took all of the day. The magnificent view from the top of the mountain well paid for the trouble, for more than 50 miles of the surrounding country presented a wild and romantic landscape, the snow-capped peaks of the Sierras 50 to 75 miles east and from 7 to 10,000 feet high towering to the sky.

Being sunset when I arrived at the foot of the mountain and six miles from my camp, seeing a camp light half a mile distant I made for this camp for a night's lodging and some grub. After a rough half mile trip I arrived on the bank of the south fork of the American and the camp on the opposite side. The question now was how to cross the river, which was over 300 feet wide, my empty stomach and tired limbs dictated to cross the river; as good luck had it I found a small log raft but no paddler. I cut a long pole but the river was too deep to use it, so I paddled my ship over, after half an hour's hard work to keep out of the rapids just below. Had my ship got in the rapids it would have been my last river to cross. As good luck or bad luck would have it, my raft got stuck in a bog about 20 feet from shore, it being dark did not steer right, to get on terra firma again was obliged to take a very cold bath by wading ashore with water up to my neck. Arriving at the camp I found a prosperous company of five, all Southerners and all gentlemen, they took compassion on my wet and forlorn condition, gave me a miner's collation of flapjacks and coffee, made a big fire in the log cabin, got perfectly dry, turned in on a bunk and had a glorious sleep. After dressing in the morning I made for my boots, as ill luck never comes single handed, finding my boots being too near the fire were all burned to a crisp, proved the saying.

After scratching the camp, an old shoe and the foot of a rubber boot were found, thus saving a six-mile trip with bare feet. After a good dinner one of the miners took me over the river in a boat and I started for my camp, arriving with sore feet and used up rubbers. After a night's rest I started out on a prospecting trip for gold, but not for a mountain. After visiting several mining camps for four days, returned to my old camp, being satisfied it is as good as any others. Mining is hard work and the constant exposure severe, digging dirt, rolling heavy stones, rocking the cradle and standing in cold water up to your knees under a scorching sun all day is seemingly enough to kill anyone, yet but few of the 200 in this camp got sick. The novelty and excitement together with a perfect climate keeps most all healthy and strong.

I have got to be an expert in rocking the cradle, if any of your lady friends have cross and crying babies, send them to me. I will rock their crying throats out of them.

Redington worked a week, digging dirt and rocking the cradle and left in disgust for San Francisco. Said he had rather rock the cradle with 50 babies than for one bucket of dirt, if it contained \$50.00.

But few so far of the 50,000 supposed to be in the mines, which extend from north to south over 500 miles in width, have made money.

The mines have a cosmopolitan crowd, all languages are spoken, a perfect Babel. Yet with all this civilized and uncivilized element perfect order and safety prevail. Judge Lynch presides and woe to the person who commits a crime, ever so small. It would be well for the world if it was as well governed as California. It is perfectly safe here to have your tent and trunk unlocked for weeks and find everything safe on your return. The following incident will show the severity of miners' law.

A family of man, wife and two children arrived from Ohio with three cows, six miles from here, four of us made a Sunday trip to see a female woman and get milk; we paid a dollar a pint for milk and a dollar for a few miserable apple pies, and we soon exhausted his stock of milk and pies. While at this extensive dairy the old lady complained of some one milking her cows. I told her to spot the party and we would send a committee to investigate at once, the committee found the right milk intruder or sucker, he was tied to a tree for 50 lashes, but was let off by signing a paper to leave at once this section of the country, he left.

Our mode of living and life in the mines is quite novel, a little romantic, quite different from that of home life in Boston, for instance, I am writing this on one end of a candle box, a large flat stone for my chair and under a very umbrageous oak, on the bank of the river where my camp or tent is located. Looking up to see my tent I stopped writing and had a hearty laugh, on one limb of this tree hangs a piece of salt pork, and a salt mackerel, which has more salt than meat, on another limb a corned rib of beef, a frying pan, with a long handle, dishes hanging in a box, towels, tea kettle, relics of dear home and Sunday go-to-meeting clothes, make up the gorgeous appendage to the old oak. In holes made in the old oak or notches as a substitute for shelves are my groceries, tinware, salt, pepper, beans, etc., nearby tent is my trunk, always open, containing home relics, drugs, medicines for the sick, needy and dying.

The fire place is in a side of a big rock with two large stones for andirons, fuel¹⁸ in unlimited quantities.

As a substitute for an oven for baking beans, bread &c &c I dug a hole 3 feet deep and square, filled it half full of stones, for a fire I fill up the hole with wood and get the stones hot. To bake beans in Yankee style I fill an iron pan which holds a half a peck half full of soaked beans, cup of molasses $\frac{1}{2}$ # of pork, put the kettle or pan on the stones before going to bed, in the morning they are perfectly done and delicious, so good that half of the miners here are after the Yankee beans, or the mode of cooking them.

I serve my bread and stews the same way. I am now a first rate cook and when I get home shall teach you how to cook California style. As to eating off a table, sleeping on a bed and living as formerly, or as you live, I shall object, as it will be quite out of my mode and style.

The mode of living in the mines, I get up at daylight, make a fire, boil water for coffee or tea, broil a mackerel or pork, with the fat of the pork fry my flippers and eat them with molasses. This bill of fare is for the week days. Sundays the programme is changed, baked beans being in order. On Sundays all work is stopped

in the mines, the day being devoted, not to prayers, meetings or Sunday schools, but to washing clothes and mending them, visiting friends, and their camps, hunting, fishing, singing and story telling.

At seven in the morning, as soon as breakfast is over, dishes washed, go to the diggings, doing the hardest work possible to be done, digging dirt, rolling away or lifting stones weighing from 10 to 100 lbs., carrying dirt at a distance of several hundred feet to water and then rock the cradle, not to put the babies to sleep, but to get a shillings worth of gold.

At 12 o'clock all knock off work for dinner which is a repetition of our breakfast minus less variety, at one o'clock commence work and at six drop the cradle, shovel, pick and hoe by common consent and our time regulators and return to our respective extensive mansions for rest, supper, a repetition of our breakfast and dinner.

After dinner or supper we amuse ourselves various ways, some roll themselves up in their blankets on the ground, take a snooze and sleep until morning, others call upon their neighbors for a game of cards, a song, music by variety of instruments, which miners brought from their homes, thus making time pass very pleasantly. There are many very fine singers and musicians in the camp and many splendid gentlemen of refined culture and education, many doctors, lawyers and ministers. In appearance we all look alike. As far as dress goes you can compare our dress to the Irish hodcarriers, or a gang of Irish mud larks.

It is quite amusing to see some of the camps after the Sunday washing, some of the camps put me in mind of the old woman who had everything to wash and nothing to hang out. Flannels being hard to wash I fastened them to a limb of a tree that stretched over a swift stream of water. In the morning I took them off the limb and found them perfectly clean, but to my happy surprise they were well decorated with small particles of gold, caught while floating down the stream. With a knife I picked out 25¢ worth, the balance I kept in the flannels for decorations.

Cost of grub here, fresh meat, not often to be had, 75¢ per pound, pork 60¢, corned beef, 40¢, tea \$1.00, coffee 35¢, cheese \$1.50, beans 30¢ for one quart, molasses \$3.00 per gallon, vinegar \$5.00 per gallon, rice 30¢ a lb., salt 75¢ per small box, baking soda and salaratus \$5.00 per lb., boots, shoes and all kinds of clothing ten to twenty times higher here than at home, or in the East.

The climate in the mountains where the mines are found is perfect in all particulars. I roll myself up in a blanket, a stone for the pillow, my coat for a blanket and sleep on the ground, enjoy my sleep and grub, poor as it is, have increased my weight 30 pounds, now weigh 160 pounds.

The atmosphere is so clear and perfect that by a full moon can read large print with ease, old Cynthia and Sol vie with each other in their luminous appearance. For a past time during a full moon I frequently with my companion, a cigar, take an evening stroll over the hills to enjoy the splendid mountain scenery, the mild bland breezes, the romantic and novel situation of a pill vender from the Hub of Civilization, and thoughts of home.

Many miners form, or become members of companies and work on a larger scale, than the individual can. I belong to three companies. All proved failures with hundreds of thousands of dollars (all in your eye) lost.

ANTONIO MELENDREZ

*Nemesis of William Walker in Baja California**

THE years between the close of the Mexican War and the outbreak of the Civil War might well be called the day of the filibusters. To Cuba, to Hawaii, to Mexico, to Honduras and Guatemala, hardy and adventurous bands set forth to free a mistreated population and to fulfill the "manifest destiny" of the United States. All of these expeditions failed, but the most magnificent failure was that of William Walker, journalist, lawyer and soldier. His spectacular and bloody campaigns in Nicaragua, of which country he succeeded in making himself president for a brief while, are well known. Less has been written about his earlier filibuster to Lower California in 1853 and 1854.¹

Walker left San Francisco on October 15, 1853. He intended to "free" Baja California and Sonora from the neglect and tyranny of Santa Anna's government, and to set up a republic of his own making. His original party of forty-five men was later reinforced by land and sea expeditions until it appeared that Walker might accomplish his object. But lack of finances and desertion weakened him until he was forced, finally, to retreat across the international boundary and surrender to United States Army officers on May 8, 1854.

During his occupation of the upper portion of the peninsula he was continually harassed by a man commonly spoken of by historians as "the outlaw Melendrez." He was Walker's gadfly, and a foe whose acts would scarcely have gone unnoticed had the Baja California episode been on a larger scale.

Walker had already captured La Paz and declared himself president of the new-born "Twin-Star Republic" when he landed at Ensenada de Todos Santos, seventy miles below San Diego, on November 28, 1853. Melendrez was at this time a simple citizen, a poor *ranchero*, with holdings near La Grulla, twenty odd miles south of Ensenada. But he was not long in taking up arms against the invader.

On the 2nd of December he ambushed a foraging party of seventeen men, capturing two and killing one. The rest he drove back to Ensenada. Melendrez then joined Luis de Castillo Negrete, Military Commandant of the northern, or frontier, district of Lower California. With their joint force of seventy or seventy-five² they

*During the course of an examination of certain of the early records of the Federal District Court at San Francisco, I recently discovered the original Articles of Capitulation under which William Walker, signing himself as "President of the Republic of Sonora," surrendered to the military authorities of the United States when he crossed the border east of San Diego on May 8, 1854, after his unsuccessful filibustering expedition in Lower California. This is a document of great historic interest, and it seems eminently fitting that it should now be reproduced in connection with Mr. Clarke's discussion of the man who drove Walker and his band across the border.—*Carl I. Wheat*.

1. The older sources, in books, for Walker's expedition to Lower California are as follows: Bancroft, H. H., *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, 2 vols., San Francisco, 1889; Wells, William V., *Walker's Expedition to Nicaragua*, New York, 1856; Walker, William, *The War in Nicaragua*, Mobile, 1860; Roche, J. J., *By-Ways of War*, Boston, 1901.

More recent works: Wyllys, Rufus K., *The French in Sonora*, Berkeley, 1932; "The Republic of Lower California," *Pacific Historical Review*, June, 1933; Scroggs, William O., *Filibusters and Financiers*, New York, 1916.

It is necessary, however, to depend on the California newspapers of the period for much material.

2. See undated letter of Don Juan Bandini in collection of Benjamin Hayes: Historical Notes, Baja California, Vol. I, Chap. 4, "La Frontera," Scrap-Book; Bancroft Library, Berkeley. This volume is the principal source of information concerning Melendrez. All subsequent citations of the Hayes collection refer to this volume.

Agreement

The undersigned representing the Government of the United States and the undersigned representing the Republic of San Juan de los Rios

1st Lt. Jm. Walker President of the Republic of San Juan de los Rios agree to surrender themselves to the United States as prisoners, to abide an investigation of their alleged violation of the Act of 1818 in reference to the neutrality of the United States on the following conditions to wit;

Major J. M. Keimley and Capt. J. C. Burton of the Army of the United States agree to provision & quarter Col. Walker and Command at San Diego until the arrival of a steamer when they shall be furnished with transportation to San Francisco upon condition of reporting themselves (under the direction of Capt. Burton) to Major Genl. J. C. Wool United States Army at San Francisco as prisoners on their parole of honor.

Rancho of La Punta Cal

May 8th 1854

J. M. Keimley

H. J. Burton

For Major Wm. Capt. U.S.A.

Jm. Walker

Read & Ref. of Hon.

moved against Walker, who, with forty-five men, shut himself up in the only house then standing at Ensenada, a large adobe belonging to the Gastelum family.³

The siege commenced on December 5. Some days later, one José Matias Moreno appeared on the scene.⁴ He persuaded Negrete (apparently for reasons of his own, as he does not seem to have been connected with Walker) that the United States Military authorities at San Diego would come down to help against the filibusters. Negrete, easily persuaded, dispatched Moreno to San Diego, and himself retired to Don Juan Bandini's ranch at Guadalupe, on the San Diego road. Melendrez, with twenty or twenty-five "*amigos y parientes*" was left to continue the siege.⁵

The filibusters succeeded in routing Melendrez on the 14th of December. He went then to Guadalupe to confer with his chief, Negrete, who—realizing that no help was coming from the United States—turned over his command to Melendrez and departed to the peace and safety of San Diego. The Mexican force had been dispersed. Melendrez, without money, supplies, or men, went southward into the interior.

But he had not given up. When Walker marched to the Colorado River in March, 1854, Melendrez rallied the settlers and Indians, and Walker, returning with a handful of weary adventurers, found the garrison he had left at San Vicente wiped out by death, desertion, and capture. Melendrez, with the largest force he had yet mustered, contested every mile of the way to the international boundary, which the filibusters finally crossed on the 8th of May, 1854.

They did not come back. But Lower California was in turmoil. The Indians, always ready to attack the whites, were on the war-path. The machinery of government and law enforcement was disrupted. Melendrez, with the nucleus of his "army," spent the next few months fighting Indians and reducing the province to to some sort of order. He forwarded reports to Governor José Maria Blancarte, at La Paz, and was confirmed by him as the Military Commandant of the frontier.⁶

When Negrete abandoned his post, his subaltern, Antonio Chavez, fled with him.⁷ This man coveted Melendrez' authority. About July 18, 1854, he gathered a few choice spirits about him and went to Melendrez' house at Santo Tomas, intending to kill him. It was night; Melendrez was asleep and alone. Roused, he fired twice at his assailants, who fled. Melendrez then made his way to La Grulla, a few miles distant, mounted a horse bareback, and rode to Guadalupe, where he again rallied his men.

3. This house was later named Fort McKibben by Walker, in memory of Lieut. James McKibben, the first man to fall during the siege of Ensenada.

4. Above cited letter of Juan Bandini, Hayes collection. Moreno was a man of peculiar and doubtful character. He is credited with having fomented the shocking "Mendoza raid" which threatened to wipe out the population of the frontier district of Lower California in the fall of 1860. (See Hayes collection, above cited volume, Chap. 5.)

5. It may be safely concluded that Indians aided Melendrez during the siege of Fort McKibben, as all contemporary accounts speak of bows and arrows captured when Melendrez was driven off. Indians also aided Melendrez during his subsequent operations against Walker.

6. Above cited letter of Juan Bandini, Hayes collection.

7. Clipping from Los Angeles *Southern Californian*, December 14, 1854; Hayes collection. See also San Francisco *Daily Herald*, August 17, 1854.

The citizens of Santo Tomas heard of Melendrez' approach and seized Chavez with some of his followers. Melendrez found, on his arrival, that several deserters from the Mexican army were among the prisoners. These were given a hundred lashes each. But Melendrez evidently considered the leader unworthy of the dignity of punishment. He freed him, saying that so long as Chavez remained quiet he would not be molested.

Chavez retired to Los Angeles, taking his dream of power with him. On November 21, 1854⁸ some one in Monterey wrote to a "respectable person" in San Diego, warning the citizens of Southern California that *unos bribones*, who were unable to make good a false claim to the salt mines at San Quentin (on the west coast of Lower California) had sent arms and ammunition to Antonio Chavez for the purpose of starting a revolution. On November 23, Judge Benjamin Hayes, in an open letter to the Los Angeles *Southern Californian*⁹ likewise warned against Chavez, who, he said, was recruiting men for an illegal expedition into Lower California. Chavez claimed to have a commission as Military Commandant issued by the authorities at Mazatlan, who, as Judge Hayes pointed out, had no right to meddle in Lower California affairs.

The recruiting, nevertheless, went on. About December 20, Chavez appeared in San Diego with some twenty men.¹⁰ Citizens of San Diego were on the watch, and part of the band was lodged in jail. These included Chavez, himself, and "the notorious Tommy-(Jimmy)-From-Town."¹¹ Most of these men were released after examination by Judge Hayes, as no charge could be brought against them. Chavez returned to Los Angeles and dropped from sight.

Some of the band escaped across the border, where Melendrez met them with open arms. Among the number were certain desperados well known and badly wanted in Alta California. Melendrez would have liked to surrender them to the United States authorities, but did not feel that he had authority to do so.¹² He therefore sent the stolen horses and goods they had brought back to their rightful owners, and ordered the men to go south, where they would find little to steal and few to kill. At the same time he warned the southern authorities of Lower California to be on their guard.

For six months thereafter, Melendrez appears to have had clear sailing. Then, on the 26th of June, 1855, Lieutenant José Pujol y Bru, a young Spaniard with many titles to his name and a new commission in the Mexican army, arrived at San Vicente with forty men.¹³ He sent messages professing great friendship to Melendrez, and asked him to come to San Vicente to receive a new commission

8. Clipping from Los Angeles *Southern Californian*, December 14, 1854; Hayes collection.

9. Hayes collection.

10. Clipping from Los Angeles *Southern Californian*, January 4, 1855; Hayes collection.

11. "Jimmy-from-Town" was a safe-cracker, "fire-bug," etc., captured by the San Francisco Vigilance Committee and turned over to the authorities, July 23, 1851. His real name was James Burns, and he had been a confederate of the even more notorious James Stuart. (See Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, Vol. I, pp. 287 et seq., 367, 371, 372.) At the time of the Chavez "raid" he had escaped from the state prison, to which he was returned after his capture in San Diego. (See San Diego *Herald*, January 13, 1855.)

12. See the singularly courteous letter of Melendrez to the Los Angeles *Southern Californian*, February 17, 1855; Hayes collection.

13. San Diego *Herald*, July 7, 1855.

from the governor. Friends warned Melendrez of treachery, but he went, accompanied only by his secretary, José Maria de Nicochea.

Pujol received him in his quarters, figuratively and physically with open arms. He embraced Melendrez, after the Latin custom, and, while greeting him with affection, signed to his soldiers. They threw Melendrez to the floor and bound him. Pujol then spat in Melendrez' face and began to abuse him "in terms so vile and so loathsome that common decency would forbid their recital."¹⁴

The burden of this vilification was that Melendrez was a traitor. Pujol kept him in the room all that night and the next morning. At noon on June 28, 1855, Melendrez was dragged outside, still bound. Two soldiers shot him in the head with pistols, but did not kill him. Two more soldiers came with muskets to finish the work. Though a priest was near, Melendrez was not allowed final consolation. His body was left there where it lay until his widow and some other women came to bury it.

Melendrez had been tried *in absentia* by court martial at La Paz, two hundred English leagues distant. The charge was conspiracy to sell the frontier district to the United States for 2,000,000 pesos. He was convicted and sentenced to death twenty-four hours after capture. To his protestations Pujol only answered, "It is all finished."¹⁵

The opinion of those who knew Melendrez and his activities is well expressed by a correspondent writing to the San Francisco *Daily Herald*, July 17, 1855.

"It is well known that the charges are utterly frivolous."

The execution raised a storm of protest throughout Alta California. It was generally conceded that "private malice and a desire for personal aggrandizement" procured his death. The identity of his accusers is suggested by the San Francisco *Daily Herald*, July 16, 1855.

"It will be recollected that last fall a desperate band of horse-thieves and murderers escaped the vigilance of our officers and made their way into Lower California . . . he (Melendrez) sent them to La Paz. Out of revenge these desperados deposed charges against Melendrez to the Commandante General (General Blancarte)."

Whether these were his denouncers, or others, it seems almost certain that Antonio Chavez, the man whom he dismissed with a brave man's generous contempt, was the author, direct or indirect, of Melendrez' death.

History has not done well by Melendrez. William Walker said that he was an outlaw and bandit, and he has been written down as such. Perhaps he was. He was at one time indicted for murder, but later made trustee of the dead man's estate. He led a rebellion against Captain Castro, acting military commandant of the frontier, and captured Santo Tomas in May of 1852.¹⁶ His brothers were horse thieves of note.¹⁷

14. From statement of Mr. Woolensacker, lately returned from Lower California, as reported by the San Diego correspondent of the San Francisco *Daily Herald*, July 17, 1855.

15. Los Angeles *Southern Californian*, July 11, 1855; Hayes collection.

16. San Diego *Herald*, May 15, and May 22, 1852.

17. Hayes collection, above cited volume, Chap. 5, notes on the "Mendoza raid," during the administration of Feliciano Esparza.

But circumstance has a way of making patriots out of the material at hand. Antonio Melendrez, who could neither read nor write, was a fine guerilla fighter by heritage and training. His father, Don Guadalupe Melendrez, was a member of *La Escolta de la Compania Presidial de Loreto* (permanent guard stationed in Lower California during the early days of Mexican rule).¹⁸ Antonio Melendrez spent his early life in constant Indian warfare. He was, according to Sr. David Zarate of Ensenada, who got his information from men who knew him, a man of iron body and great courage. He is also reported to have been cruel, which is probable, as he was a half-breed. But his contemporaries report his brief administration as having been just and honorable. A correspondent writing in the *San Diego Herald* for July 15, 1855, says:

"I had the opportunity of hearing many well-informed inhabitants of the country express their sentiments—'No man had done more than Melendrez to preserve the liberties of his country, none deserved more than he did'—of the present administration of Mexico."

That is a great deal to say of a bandit and outlaw.

JAMES MITCHELL CLARKE.

18. Rojo, Manuel Clemente, "Apuntos Historicos de La Baja California," Mex. MS, 295; Bancroft Library.

THE FIRST ORE FROM "WASHOE"

FROM THE REMINISCENCES OF MAHLON DICKERSON FAIRCHILD¹

EARLY in the year 1859 I spent considerable time in Placerville, El Dorado County, California, connected in a manner with the *Semi-Weekly Observer*, a newspaper of which O. L. C. and J. D. Fairchild, my brothers, were proprietors.² At that time F. A. Bee,³ P. H. Lovell and others were constructing a telegraph line toward Salt Lake City, working under the name of "Placerville and Humboldt Telegraph Company," and were importuning Congress for an appropriation sufficient to enable them to extend it as far east as St. Joseph, Missouri. Major Chorpeneing was then under contract to carry the mails across the great plains,⁴ which he was doing with tolerable regularity within schedule time [although] Indians frequently attacked the coaches and relay stations causing delays, and notwithstanding the fact that the winter just past had been an inclement one and deep snows had covered the road across the Sierra Nevada Mountains and other high elevations intervening between [them and] the Missouri River. Hank Monk, the driver, who subsequently advised Horace Greeley to "keep his seat" while a passenger over the mountains with him, would at times that winter get over the summit with a sleigh carrying the mail, while at other times it would be carried by J. A. Thompson, who traveled upon snowshoes, often having more than one hundred pounds weight upon his back. Mr. Thompson was by birth a Norwegian who had spent a number of years in the high Sierra and was widely known by all old mountaineers as "Snowshoe" Thompson.

The only seat of justice in all Western Utah at that time was Mormon Station (Genoa) with John S. Childs officiating judge, appointed by the Territorial Governor. For two years the residents of Western Utah, Mormon and non-Mormon had been agitating the question of establishing a new Territory, and at this juncture, Judge James M. Crane, in a letter from Washington informed them that the Congress would favorably consider their petition to form the Territory of Nevada. In January, 1859 a newspaper had been established at Genoa by Alfred James

1. A portion of Fairchild's reminiscences relating to a trip to the Colorado River mines, and including a note regarding the author, was printed in this *Quarterly*, Vol. XII No. 1, March, 1933. To his granddaughter, Miss Lucile M. Watters, we are indebted for both articles. For a further account of M. D. Fairchild, see Thompson & West's *History of Nevada*, 1881, p. 311.

2. Joseph Dupuy Fairchild, born at Ovid, Seneca County, N. Y., April, 1838, came to California in 1854. With his brother, O. L. C. Fairchild, he began the publication of the *Placerville Semi-Weekly Observer*, Feb. 9, 1859, which paper continued until 1860. In 1863 he went to Austin, Nevada, where he worked on the *Reveille*, of which he and his brother later became proprietors. He died in Sacramento, Calif., in 1869, as a result of a fall from a horse. (See Thompson & West's *History of Nevada*, p. 304.)

3. F. A. Bee was born Sept. 9, 1826, at Clinton, Oneida County, N. Y., and came to California in 1849. He was early identified with telegraphic matters and was later consul of the Chinese government. (See Bancroft, H. H., *History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming*, p. 228.)

4. The United States mail, as early as 1851, was carried by a contract with Woodward and [W. G.] Chorpeneing, from Sacramento to Salt Lake City, going and returning once a month on the backs of mules. In 1854 the contract was again given to Chorpeneing, in company with Ben Holladay, with permission to use a covered wagon and four-mule team, and to carry passengers. In 1858, Chorpeneing secured the mail contract from Placerville to Salt Lake, where the line connected with the overland mail to St. Joseph, Mo., and he purchased ten stage-coaches, with all the necessary supplies. The first eastward bound coach left Placerville June 5, 1858, and the first from the east arrived at Placerville on July 19. (Root, Frank A., and Connelley, W. E., *The Overland Stage to California*, Topeka, 1901, p. 40, and Bancroft, *History of Nevada, etc.*, pp. 226-27.)

and W. L. Jernegan called *Territorial Enterprise*, which was a strong advocate of the formation of the new Territory. The paper frequently mentioned mineral discoveries upon the "Eastern Slope"; and occasional visits to Placerville of miners, traders and other residents of the country over the mountains kept me quite well informed as to affairs there—thanks to my newspaper connection.

Being engaged in mining operations, what most attracted my attention and excited me more particularly than any other subject were favorable reports concerning "Walker River Diggings," alleged very rich placers "just like old '49 river bars in California." These induced me to outfit an expedition to that district; and with three companions, early in May, with a wagon and several horses, we set out from historic "Hangtown" and proceeded mountainward. It was easy going until the afternoon of the second day when snow was encountered near Strawberry Valley, where we camped over night. By an early start the following day, when the surface of the snow was hard, and by dint of hard work the summit was reached. By this time, however, a heavy mist obscured the landscape and rain was threatened. . . .

It was a long, cold night during which it had rained some, but before morning it had cleared, and when before sunrise we rolled out from under our blankets with a cloudless sky all around, it was to behold one of the most gorgeous sights in all wild nature, for there, a thousand feet or more below us, mottled in emerald green and azure blue, calm and unruffled, was Lake Bigler—since miscalled Tahoe—surrounded upon all sides with snowy mountains and shores fringed with primal forest of huge pines, firs, spruce and tamarack unscarred by vandal axe. It was the first time I had ever seen it, and so unexpectedly, that its inspiration affixed in memory so glorious a picture that it will be retained to the end of time. . . . Unknowingly we had camped upon a prominence from which no better view could be had, and the atmosphere was so clear that we could almost imagine it possible to cast a stone into the clear waters lying so far below us.

Our next movement was to get our wagon and animals down into the valley at the head of the lake. The grade that had been made by immigrants, and improved by the overland mail contractors, was examined and found impassable except for loose stock, and the animals were taken that way. The wagon was taken straight down the mountainside by sliding it upon the snow—two men handling the pole in front and two behind with rope "snubbing" around convenient trees. This was considerable of a job, consuming a half day, but on reaching the floor of the valley with wagon and contents and finding but little snow there, we hitched up and started for Carson Valley. Before proceeding very far a stream was encountered bank full. We were at a regular crossing place, however, and thought it safe to attempt the ford. This we did, and when in the middle of the stream found it so deep that the horses had to swim and the water began to run into the wagon bed. The stiff current turned the course of our team and carried them below the regular landing place, and then nothing more could be done but continue swimming and floating downward until a place could be found where a landing could be effected. This we did finally, but it was a "close call" for ourselves and animals,

the water being icy cold and the final landing place quite steep. Getting upon terra firm an overhauling was made of our effects in the wagon. Beans, rice, sugar, salt, flour, blankets were soaked and had to be dried forthwith. The afternoon sun was shining, there was an abundance of firewood, and we made a virtue of necessity by camping and caring for our thoroughly wetted and indispensable cargo. The afternoon of the following day saw us again en route not very much the worse from our involuntary swimming adventure inasmuch as we had added a number of grouse to our larder as well as several large trout obtained from Indians who visited our camp.

The following day found us entering Carson Valley via Hope Valley and Woodford's. Though thence to Walker River our course was southerly, we concluded to go northerly to Genoa for the purpose of obtaining all information possible relating to our objective point. At Genoa we met Major W. M. Ormsby⁵ of Eagle Valley—now Carson City—with whom I had become acquainted in Sacramento. Learning our destination, he remarked that some ten or twelve miles east of where he lived there was a place they called Gold Canyon⁶ where people were mining and getting considerable gold and advised the party to go there and abandon the trip to Walker River. But his suggestion did not meet with favor. We had started for the Walker River diggings and would go there first before prospecting anywhere else. Accordingly, after receiving instructions as to route, liability of encountering Indians, camping places, etc., from Major F. Dodge, Indian Agent, who had recently been over the route, we left Genoa for the South.

Owing to its width, the water in Carson River was not deep and was forded without difficulty, but when we came to the first branch of Walker River we found precipitous banks and the stream booming. The snow upon the eastern slope of the Sierras was melting rapidly, and how to cross this stream was a perplexing problem. We camped upon its banks several days studying the situation and finally concluded to construct a raft out of willow saplings with which the river bank was thickly fringed. The larger sized ones were cut for the body of our raft, while we used the small ones for withes to fasten the whole structure together. About three days' time was consumed in making a raft sufficiently large to carry our wagon. The other "traps" could be divided and ferried across in loads of requisite size. The next difficulty to be overcome was its navigation. The water was too swift to allow it to be sculled or rowed; too deep for us to "pole." We must stretch a line from bank to bank and pull the raft from side to side. Therefore it was necessary for one of the party to swim the stream and carry a small line to which a larger one could be attached and drawn across later. The first attempt to cross was made upon the back of one of the horses but was a failure and the man came very near being drowned by attempting to guide the animal with the bridle. When he did this the animal's head went under the water and its struggles unseated the rider who went floating down the stream. But he was a

5. For an account of the massacre of the "Ormsby party" see Thompson & West's *History of Nevada*, pp. 149 et seq., and Bancroft, *History of Nevada*, pp. 209 et seq.

6. See [Wright, William] (Dan DeQuille), *The Big Bonanza*, San Francisco, 1876, p. 27, and Bancroft, *History of Nevada*, pp. 94 et seq.

clever swimmer, and though chilled to the marrow, was rescued by grasping a pole held out to him in an eddy some distance from where he was thrown from the horse. The horse got out upon the opposite shore. That ended the attempt to ferry that day, but the following morning another of the party swam the stream unaided by the horse and our largest picket ropes were fastened together and spanned the river. By nightfall our entire outfit was landed upon the south side of the stream where we camped for the night, made supper, and laid down to pleasant dreams. Other obstacles were encountered as we proceeded upon our way, but were overcome safely, and about the middle of May found us at the "diggings."

They were the dry beds of ravines at their embouchure into the valley, of gravel and other detritus eroded from the precipitous mountains upon the west, but of no very great depth as then determined. There was a scarcity of water, and the washing was done entirely with rocker and pan. Scattered over this placer region were several hundred men, a few only of whom were making fair wages—from \$5 to \$10 a day—while the majority were making nothing. . . . At that time there was considerable game in that region—bear, deer and mountain sheep being often killed and their carcasses brought to camp. But there was not gold enough there to induce our party to remain longer than ten days or two weeks, as we had left more profitable mines in California. We left for Genoa, intending to go to Gold Canyon as advised by Major Ormsby. When we reached the stream where we built the raft we were agreeably surprised to find it still there in good condition, though it had done service for scores of pack trains in the intervening time. It certainly spoke well of our workmanship with withes, for there was no sound of tool or hammer in its construction. Subsequently we were told that it held together until after the water became so low that its service was no longer required.

A little digression here may not be out of order: Before leaving Genoa for Walker River Diggings, Major Dodge, the Indian Agent, said we were liable to meet Indians not very friendly to whites just then, and cautioned us how to act in the event of doing so. However, we did not encounter any, but that they were upon the war-path the following circumstance will verify. While we were en route a party of eight men left Honey Lake Valley upon a prospecting trip into Nevada, their destination being a locality then called Rabbit Hole Springs. Encamped within twenty miles of there one night they were attacked by Indians and some of them killed. One of the slain was Peter Lassen a well-known pioneer of California after whom one of the counties is named, as also a prominent mountain peak. When we returned to Genoa we found Major Dodge there with Young Winnemucca (Na-ma-ga) a sub-chief of the Pah Utes. They had just arrived from Pyramid Lake where the Major had been interviewing Old Winnemucca (Po-i-to) head chief, and some 3000 of the tribe.⁷ Both chiefs disclaimed any

7. See Thompson & West, *History of Nevada*, pp. 150 *et seq.*, and DeQuille, *The Big Bonanza*, Chap. XXXVII.

participation or knowledge of the killing of Lassen, and agreed to do their utmost to locate the guilty parties. The actual murderers of Lassen never have been disclosed.

The residents of Genoa still spoke encouragingly about the Gold Canyon mines and thither our party went, augmented by two acquaintances from Placerville whom we met there—D. W. C. Story and John Churchill—the former now (1907) living in Alameda, and the latter killed in the Civil War upon the Confederate side. We found that the "prospects" in the canyon had been followed up to the base of a round mountain and men working there with rockers washing detrital material—the eroded substance from a decomposed quartz vein—recovering therefrom each day from one ounce to two pounds of gold valued at about \$12.50 an ounce. Verily, this was something worth looking after. There were a number of shanties and tents already upon the site, and the cluster had been christened Gold Hill. Upon a ridge east of the embryo "city" were quite a number of pine trees, some of which were three to four feet in diameter and from eighty to one hundred feet high. I mention this because they were soon all cut down and people who came later thought that no timber ever did exist there. Lemuel S. Bowers (Sandy) then had the most pretentious building there, built of boards, in which meals and drinks were served. The usual frontier crowd assembled in Sandy's shebang, among whom generally could be seen James Finny (Old Virginia) ever ready to drink, almost always "full" and very garrulous.⁸ Having a good offer for our wagon, it was sold, and our animals taken northerly over the ridge on the slope overlooking Twenty-Six-Mile Desert and our camp made there. It was at the extreme head of "Six-Mile Canyon" with Sun Mountain (Mount Davidson) towering upon the western side. We obtained water for camp purposes from a spring near which Henry Comstock and another man were working—using its water for their rocker. (This afterwards, if I am not mistaken, became the celebrated Mexican Mine.) For a number of days our party prospected, and becoming satisfied that the "placers" would be short lived in that crushing would sooner or later become necessary to recover the gold, we set about to learn what arrangements could be made with the locators along the lode in the event that a quartz mill would be erected there. Nearly every person then interested expressed a willingness to give one-half of the product of their mine for reducing the ore, and with such assurance, I essayed the attempt to get a quartz mill upon that then unnamed great mineral vein, with what result will hereafter appear.

Where the miners were working, water for rockers even was extremely scarce, being conveyed from a spring not far distant in small V-shaped flumes—being used by the one nearest the point of delivery, thence to the next, and continuing

8. In January, 1859, James Finney, or Fennimore, better known as "Old Virginia" (he being a native of the State of Virginia), John Bishop and a few others of the Johnstown miners, struck a rich deposit of free gold in placer diggings in a little hill at the head of Gold Canyon. (DeQuille, *History of the Comstock Mines*, Virginia, Nevada, 1889, pp. 34-35.) Comstock (quoted in DeQuille's *Big Bonanza*, p. 84) states that while at the place then known as Silver City, "Old Virginia and the other boys got on a drunk one night there, and Old Virginia fell down and broke his bottle, and when he got up he said he baptized that ground Virginia—hence Virginia City—and that is the way it got its name." (See also *ibid.*, pp. 28 and 59.)

from one to another until it became too thick with mud for use. Theodore Winters owned the principal water supply and the V-flume. His brother, John D. Winters,⁹ afterwards Democratic nominee for Governor, was at work there with a rocker, using quicksilver, the gold being very fine. In washing down the rocker much black "sand" (supposed) was shown.

I was much impressed with the mining possibilities of the locality and declared to my comrades that it was the most alluring spot I had seen since the spring of 1850—the Deer Creek Diggings (Nevada City). With a determination to return I decided to pack an animal with rock to California, have it tested for gold, and if found sufficiently valuable, to bring back a quartz mill of five stamps if not larger. From a pile of rock which John D. Winters had thrown from his rocker riddle, I filled two flour sacks, and he also gave me a ten-pound salt sack full of the "black sand" scraped from the bottom of his rocker. With these I left Gold Hill, June 12, 1859, for Placerville and arrived there on the 16th, thus bringing into California the first considerable quantity of ore that came into the State from the Comstock lode, then unnamed. Possibly the Grosh brothers¹⁰ may have brought over a few pounds a year or two previous to this—they being the first discoverers of silver there—but this is doubtful.

Quartz mining in California in 1859 was at very low ebb because as a rule, wherever undertaken, results had been disappointing. There were but few men in the country who were experts in that branch of mining. Residing at Placerville at the time I arrived with the ore, was a man named John Alexander who had the reputation of being a learned geologist as well as an assayer, and expert manipulator of gold-bearing rock. To him I had determined to submit the ore to pronounce upon its value, and if found worth pursuing, assist in organizing a company to provide a mill and supply other means for its erection at Gold Hill.

Unfortunately for my project, Mr. Alexander was then away from Placerville with George W. Swan, then Mayor, examining a vein of lignite, as the following paragraph from the *Sacramento Union* of June 27 will verify:

Sometime since we noticed that discoveries of coal had been made in El Dorado and Sacramento Counties. Recently John Alexander, a practical geologist who came to this country in 1849, and has been extensively engaged in mining, has been experimenting on a vein of coal on the eastern border of this county.

As it was then time to begin work upon a fluming project I had upon the South Fork of the American River near Mormon Island, I left Placerville for

9. "James Hart, who had an interest in the sluices, and diggings in the cañon, sold his right to be 'considered in' on the big discovery to J. D. Winters, of Washoe Valley, for a horse and \$20 in coin. In this way Winters got into the Ophir as one of the locators, and from this came the 'old horse' story that has always been saddled upon Old Virginia—to fix it still more firmly upon the old fellow, the bottle of whiskey was added." (DeQuille, *Big Bonanza*, p. 54.)

10. Hosea B. and Edgar Allen Grosh, sons of A. B. Grosh, a Universalist clergyman of Utica, N. Y., "came to Gold Cañon in 1852, from Volcano, California and engaged in placer mining. In 1853 and '54 they appear to have become convinced that there was silver to be found in the country and did a good deal of prospecting. . . . They did not associate with the miners working on the cañon. . . . They, however, informed a few persons that they had discovered a vein of silver-bearing quartz and it was well known among the miners that they had formed a company for the purpose of working their mine. . . ." This mine was supposed to have been somewhere in the vicinity of Mount Davidson. "In the spring of 1857, Hosea Grosh, while engaged in mining, stuck a pick in his foot, inflicting a wound, from the effects of which he died, in a few days. In November of that year, while on his way to Volcano, California, Allen, the surviving brother, was caught in a heavy storm . . . and had his feet frozen so badly that amputation was necessary, from the shock of which operation he died." (DeQuille, *Big Bonanza*, pp. 33-34.)

that purpose. I did not see Mr. Alexander—having deposited my sacks of ore in the office of the *Semi-Weekly Observer*. I claim this to have been the first ore brought into California from the Comstock lode. Placerville was then about the only town upon the western side of the Sierra Nevada that supplied Carson Valley and adjacent country with goods, and between the two places was much traffic. Besides, it was the mail route. June 12, 1859, A. K. Yount, in a communication from "Virginiasburg" (Gold Hill) to the *Observer* writes:

A company of Placervillians visited this locality a few days since, among whom was Mr. Story, formerly agent on the South Fork canal. He seems to be well pleased with the new El Dorado.

In breaking up and leaving our camp on the eastern slope of Sun Mountain (Mount Davidson) and going over the ridge toward where the principal rocking was progressing, we passed a large quartz cropping which we casually examined. Mr. Story, who now (September 15, 1907) resides in Alameda, says he distinctly remembers the following remark I made: "Story, some fellow will come along here before long, locate this ledge and make a fortune," which proved literally true, for it became the famous "Gould & Curry mine."¹¹

For obvious reasons I did not make a public display of my ore, desiring first to have Mr. Alexander's report upon it, but it was not many weeks after the occurrences related above, that frequent reports of the richness of the Gold Hill mines became rife in Placerville and considerable gold from there produced as evidence. W. Frank Stewart, who had been a Captain in Walker's army in Nicaragua, was then the principal editorial writer for the *Semi-Weekly Observer*, and assumed to be well versed in mineralogy. His first notice of ore coming from Gold Hill was published July 2, 1859, while at the same time there had been lying in the office of that paper unmentioned, at his very feet, perhaps a hundred pounds of it for three weeks. His mention of the ore is as follows:

Carson Valley Quartz.—We saw a specimen of the Carson Valley gold quartz yesterday. The rock is very different in appearance to the quartz of this vicinity. It has a *bluish cast*, and looks more like common blue limestone than anything else. The sample which we examined is full of gold, however, and if the lode is as extensive as has been represented, the owners have doubtless found a good thing.

Again, upon July 13, the *Observer* says:

Asa Waldron has shown us a specimen of the gold quartz which he obtained at the diggings at the head of Gold Canyon. It is a sort of iron colored formation and contains a large percentage of the precious metal.

It was very near the last days of September before it dawned upon the perception of the first locators of that historic mineral lode, that instead of having a gold mine, silver was the predominating metal. A Mexican one day happened along where Comstock and partner were rocking, and noticing the heavy stone with the "bluish cast" that they were casting from the rocker riddle, observed that it was similar to ore he had seen in the silver mines of Mexico—and he at once pronounced it *plate*. Silver mining was a new industry for this part of the

11. The Gould & Curry Silver Mining Company was incorporated June 27, 1860, and by October, 1870, the bullion yield had amounted to \$15,644,220.63, and the total dividends to \$3,826,800. The mine was on the most prominent and highest croppings of the Comstock Lode, between the Best & Belcher and Savage mines. At the time of its incorporation John O. Earl was president and W. C. Ralston, treasurer. (*Pacific Coast Mining Review*, San Francisco, October, 1878, p. 200, and Thompson & West's *History of Nevada*, p. 613.)

country, and the prospective value of the great lode was rapidly spreading abroad, and people began flocking into "Washoe," as outsiders pretty generally designated that region then. During the winter and early spring of 1860 thousands of treasure seekers left California for that section; people came there from the far east; the lode was named for Comstock;¹² the principal town at the mines called Virginia, complimentary to Finny; property changed hands at enormous prices; pack mules were loaded with ore and sent over the mountains to California and immense excitement caused throughout the commercial world.

The first quartz mill established near the Comstock lode was set in motion by Dr. E. B. Harris,¹³ August 11, 1860—very nearly fourteen months after the two bags of ore had been deposited in the office of the *Placerville Semi-Weekly Observer* by the writer. Mr. Alexander died in November of that year without having seen the ore. Had he been at Placerville when it arrived, and made satisfactory tests, and the intentions of the writer materialized, an ore-reducing plant would have been in operation upon the Comstock lode before the year 1859 ended. Had such been the case how different might have been the financial fate of scores of persons who became millionaires by manipulating its workings and the disposal of its shares in the stock market.

12. "Henry Thomas Paige Comstock, as he gave his name—has by many persons been credited with the discovery of the Comstock, but it is an honor to which he was not entitled. The credit of discovering silver in Nevada belongs to Peter O'Riley and Patrick McLaughlin. . . ." Comstock was made a partner in the mine and "when visitors came it was always *my* mine and *my* everything. Thus people came to talk of Comstock's mine and Comstock's vein." (DeQuille, *History of the Comstock Mines*, pp. 36-37.)

13. Elias Braman Harris, M. D. (See Thompson & West's *History of Nevada*, pp. 99-100.)



JACQUES ANTOINE MOERENHOUT

(From a miniature in oils on ivory, possibly a self-portrait;
lent by Mrs. J. A. Rickman, his great-granddaughter.)

THE FRENCH CONSULATE IN CALIFORNIA

1843-1856

THE MOERENHOUT DOCUMENTS

(Continued from the June, 1933, Quarterly)

V

AMBASSADOR PAGEOT TO SECRETARY OF STATE BUCHANAN

(U. S. Dept. of State Archives, Notes from: France, Vol. XIII)

Legation of France in the United States.

Warm Springs, Virginia, June 28, 1847.

Sir:

Mr. Moerenhout, the Consul of France at Monterey, has made known¹ to the King's government, certain proceedings of Colonel Frémont, the military governor of California, towards him, and the arbitrary and violent acts committed by officers of the United States against Frenchmen residing in that territory.

You will see, Sir, by one of the papers hereto annexed,² that Colonel Frémont considered himself authorized, by representations of a very moderate and proper character (*fort mesurés*) addressed to him by the Consul of France, in behalf of one of the people of his nation, who appeared to have just cause for complaint, from a measure which injured his interests, to send to that agent a passport to quit his place of residence, with a request that he would transfer his office to San Francisco.

You will see, moreover, by the other documents, that M. Panaud, a Frenchman, who had previously received a license to go into the interior of the country, where he was called by commercial business, has been exposed to serious losses by the withdrawal of this license without sufficient reason, and that M. Dague, his clerk, whom he sent in his place when the license had been restored to him, was arrested on his way by a detachment of American troops, and afterwards underwent the most cruel treatment, from an assembly of officers before whom he was brought; upon being restored to liberty he could not again find a considerable sum, which he had about him before his arrest, the proceeds of collections made by him on account of M. Panaud.

1. By letter of Nov. 22, 1846, Document IV, *supra*, p. 172 of this volume of the *Quarterly* (June, 1933).

2. There were seven enclosures: (1) A letter from Moerenhout to Lieutenant Maddox, Military Commander at Monterey, Nov. 4, 1846, complaining of the revocation of a permit previously given to Clément Panaud, to go to San José on business; (2) Maddox' reply of the same date, stating that the matter had been referred to Colonel Frémont for answer; (3) Moerenhout to Maddox, Nov. 7, 1846, protesting against Frémont's failure to reply or take any action on the original complaint, and mentioning rumors "that Colonel Frémont had expressed himself in terms very insulting with regard to the Consul of France"; (4) Frémont to Moerenhout, Nov. 7, 1846, stating that he is satisfied that Panaud's claim is exaggerated and unfounded, that the Consul could not reasonably expect that "in the present disorganized condition of the country," Frenchmen should continue in the enjoyment of their customary political and commercial privileges, or be exempt from the military restrictions and regulations, suggesting that the Consul is *persona non grata* at Monterey and enclosing a passport to San Francisco, to which "it would be very satisfactory to the authorities" that he should transport his office"; (5) Moerenhout to Frémont, Nov. 8, 1846, returning the passport with the statement that no one but the King or Government of France had authority to order him to change his residence, denying any desire to be importunate, protesting against the measure as intended to intimidate him and to suspend the exercise of his office, and stating that it would be reported to the French Government at the first opportunity; (6) Maddox to Moerenhout, Nov. 8, 1847, stating that future communications relative to Panaud should be addressed directly to Frémont; and (7) the affidavit of Théophile Dague, dated Nov. 23, 1846, which is summarized in Moerenhout's letter of Nov. 22, 1846 (Doc. IV, *supra*), and quoted in part in Doc. VI, *infra*.

While communicating to you these facts, by order of my government, I have no doubt that your government will immediately direct reparation to be made. I have already made known to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, with great satisfaction, the assurance which you gave me, that the American government would not tolerate, on the part of its agents, any act calculated to afford just cause of complaint, to foreigners inhabiting the countries which the fortune of war may place in its possession. The facts which I have the honor this day to communicate are of so serious a nature as to appear to require the immediate interference of the Government. It seems to me, that after having read the answer of Colonel Frémont to the Consul of France, the Government will consider it proper to recall that officer to the observance of the respect which he owes to the King's agent in California; and from which he has departed without provocation, as also without necessity; and when it shall have become itself assured of the complaints made by Messrs. Panaud and Dague, I am persuaded that it will call to a severe account the officers who have been guilty of those outrages, and will amply indemnify those individuals for the losses and injuries which they have sustained.³

Accept, sir, the assurances of my high consideration,

A. PAGEOT.

VI

AFFIDAVIT OF THÉOPHILE DAGUE

(Made before the Consul at Monterey, Nov. 3, 1846; forwarded to Paris with Document IV, *supra*, and to Washington with Document V, *supra*.)

[Summary of the original document.]

From this affidavit¹ it appears that this young man, who was a clerk of the merchant Panaud, left Monterey under a permit of Lieutenant Maddox, to go as far as Salinas. Meeting a wagonload of Panaud's goods, in charge of a drunken driver, he went on with it to San José, thus violating the terms of his pass. After disposing of the goods there, accompanied by one Maubé, he started back with the proceeds of the sale, including \$420 in gold which he carried in a belt on his person. On November 16, while Dague and Maubé were stopping at the farm of Don Joachim [José Joaquín] Gomez, near San Juan Bautista, a company of Americans arrived, whose captain questioned them and ordered them to await his return. That evening, after the "Battle of Natividad" (See Document IV, *supra*.

3. See Buchanan to Pageot, July 16 and July 21, 1847, *Works of James Buchanan* (ed. by J. B. Moore, Philadelphia, 1908-1911), Vol. VII, pp. 366-67, 372-73, especially the latter letter. The original of the first letter is to be found in U. S. Dept. of State Archives, Notes to: France, Vol. VI.

Under instructions from the Secretary of War, a "board of officers" was convened by Governor Mason on June 19, 1848, to inquire into this affair. Mason to Moerenhout, June 16, 1848, U. S. Docs., *31st Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 17 (Serial 573)*, p. 566. But as most of the witnesses, including Dague, had by this time joined the rush to the mines, the hearing dragged on until the beginning of October. Moerenhout reported that it had been proved that the "degrading punishment" which was inflicted on Dague by Frémont's orders "was an act of cruelty wantonly (*de gaité de cœur*) committed on this young Frenchman." It was "also recognized," he reported, that Panaud had suffered a loss of two to three thousand dollars from the arbitrary measures taken against him. Moerenhout to Minister, Oct. 15, 1848, Box Monterey, Correspondence de M. Moerenhout, No. 17. See also U. S. Docs., above cited, Serial 573, p. 566. The files of the War and State departments have yet to be examined for the final outcome of this affair.

1. Except for matter in quotations, this is a summary of the original document.

and footnote 11 thereto) this force returned, bringing four wounded, whom Dague "hastened to give . . . such attention as he could in dressing their wounds"; but he still could not obtain leave to depart. On the 20th, when two of Frémont's men came to Gomez' farm and were carrying off "all that they could find," Dague was indiscreet enough to ask them by whose orders they did this, and "whether they were robbers or soldiers," whereupon they made threats against him, and shortly after their departure three officers came asking for Mr. Cambuston, apparently having mistaken Dague for that troublesome gentleman. They then asked who had spoken with the two soldiers, and upon being answered by Dague that it was he, they beat him and marched him to their camp. After questioning him there, they carried him to San Juan, and on the next day brought him before Frémont, who refused to hear him. "And scarcely two minutes afterward an officer ordered him to follow, and on coming near a piece of cannon, four men seized him, stripped him of his clothes, and tied him to the piece of cannon, and a mulatto was ordered to give him twenty-six lashes, with a leather rope called *riata* in the country; [he further states in his affidavit] that he does not remember the number of lashes received, as he was rendered insensible by the pain, nor can he tell the time that his fainting lasted; that on recovering, he found himself in a house, dressed, and with Mr. Frémont and a surgeon standing by him, bathing his face with Cologne water. That on his complaining to Mr. Frémont of his refusal to hear him, as he understood French and might have spared him the barbarous and unjust treatment to which he had been subjected, that person answered that he was sorry for what had occurred, but that it was according to the laws of war, and he could not prevent it; adding, that if he was in want of anything, he might demand it with full assurance that it would be granted." Procuring a horse from the troops, Dague returned to Gomez' farm, and on going to bed discovered that his money-belt with the \$420 in gold was missing. When he reached Monterey a couple of days later, he was set in jail and only released on the demand of the French Consul.

The truth of the affidavit was attested by Dague's companion, Arnaud Maubé.²

2. Records of many other claims of French citizens put forward by Moerenhout to the Governor are to be found in the Bancroft Library in the manuscript volume entitled "California Archives: Unbound Documents," comprising copies or summaries of many letters from citizens, consuls and alcaldes, received by the governors from 1846 to 1850. It supplements the collection of official letters accompanying President Taylor's "Message on California and New Mexico," Jan. 21, 1850," U. S. Documents, *31st Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 17, Serial 573*. A slightly different arrangement of much the same material appears in U. S. Documents, *31st Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 18, Serial 557*.

These claims include:

May 28, 1847, forwarding letter of Olivier Deleissègues, of Monterey, complaining of the seizure of a vineyard formerly belonging to the Mission of San Juan Bautista, which he claimed under a grant from Governor Pio Pico.

May 28, 1847, requesting the continuance of a pension previously paid by the Mexican Government to Pierre Artésien or Pedro Antillan, on account of disabling wounds received in the discharge of his duties as customs inspector. See Mason's reply to this and to the preceding claim, June 4, 1847, U. S. Docs., *31st Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 17, Serial 573*, p. 320, and note of the French Ambassador to the Secretary of State, Nov. 22, 1847, State Dept., Notes from: France, Vol. XIII.

June 7, 1847, presenting claims of Peter [Pierre] Richard and Arne [Arnaud] Maubé, for arms, horses and supplies seized by American officers; Richard's claim contested by Lieutenant Maddox, who stated that this was not the first time that the French Consul had taken up baseless claims of his countrymen, referring, apparently, to the Panaud recantation. See Mason's reply of June 14, U. S. Docs., *31st Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 17, Serial 573*, p. 322.

June 27, 1847, on behalf of the familiar Panaud, who had complained of further mistreatment at the hands of the American authorities, seizure of arms, false imprisonment, etc. Mason's reply, July 17, 1847, appears in the House Ex. Doc. above cited, at p. 379.

Sept. 28, 1847, requesting on behalf of P. E. Vigne and F. Sallemán, caretakers of Alvarado's vineyard and orchard at Mission San José, protection from the lawless acts of Americans settled at the Mission, who had been stealing fruit, shooting at them, etc. See Mason's letter to William Blackburn, Alcalde at Santa Cruz, ordering him to protect the land of another Frenchman, Pierre Sainsevain, against trespassers, House Ex. Doc. above cited, at pp. 332-33.

VII

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Moerenhout No. 5;

Received Aug. 12, 1847.)

Monterey, March 15, 1847.

Monsieur le Ministre:

In my letter of January 14th last,¹ I had the honor of giving you some details concerning the uprising of the Californians against the Americans, and [I] also told you how the movement, then almost general throughout the entire country, was caused.

Since then everything has changed again. The rebels, lacking resources to make war, much less to long sustain it, and, more discontented for private reasons than animated by a sentiment of national hatred, have once more submitted by a sort of capitulation,² a copy of which I have the honor of sending you enclosed.

In my preceding [despatch], I also told Your Excellency that a corps of four to five hundred riflemen and other volunteers under orders of Lieutenant Colonel Fremont had started on the first of December for Los Angeles (*la ville des Anges*) and that since then there had not been any further news of this expedition. It seems, in fact, that this force, well armed, well mounted, and with a number of pieces of artillery, was halted about ten or twelve leagues from Los Angeles, at a pass of low elevation which lies between that city and Santa Barbara, by a Californian force of only 150 men, and did not reach Los Angeles until after the troops under Commodore Stockton and General Kearney [sic] came to open the way and had invested that city.

While Monsieur Lieutenant Colonel Fremont was being detained by such a weak force, a reinforcement of something over one hundred cavalymen under the command of General Kearney³ had arrived by way of New Mexico at San Diego, where Commodore Stockton was located with four war vessels.⁴ General Kearney, after having taken possession of Santa Fé and of nearly all of New Mexico without striking a blow, left two to three thousand men there to maintain order, and continued his march with his six hundred men for Upper California. On reaching the Colorado River, he left a part of his force to rest and refresh itself, and continued his route with from one hundred and forty to one

1. The despatch of January 14, 1847, apparently Moerenhout's No. 3, has not been located. The uprising was that of Rico and Flores. For events that transpired in the south see Bancroft, *History of California*, V, Chapters XIII, XIV, XV, *passim*. The movement in the north is described in Chapter XIV.

2. The capitulation of Cahuenga occurred on January 13, 1847. *Ibid.*, V, 404-5.

3. On Stephen Watts Kearney see:

Cutts, J. M., *The Conquest of California and New Mexico*, Philadelphia, 1847.

Emory, W. H., *Notes on a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California*, Washington, 1848, U. S. Documents, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. No. 7.

Porter, Valentine, "Stephen Watts Kearny and the Conquest of California," *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, VIII, pp. 95-127.

Bancroft, *Hist. of California*, V, 334 *et seq.*

Kearny's correspondence is in U. S. Docs., 31st Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 17 (Serial 573), pp. 283 *et seq.*

4. Probably the *Cyane*, Congress, Savannah and Portsmouth.

On Robert F. Stockton and his military and naval operations, see dispatches in U. S. Docs., 29th Cong., 2nd Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 4, pp. 668 *et seq.*; 30th Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. 31.

hundred and fifty of the best mounted and best trained of his men. Before his arrival at San Diego, he encountered a Californian troop also consisting of something over one hundred men. In this encounter⁵ the Americans lost about twenty men, among others a captain and two lieutenants, and the General and a number of his men were wounded. Nevertheless, Commodore Stockton, since he had at his disposal from six to seven hundred men, soldiers and sailors from the vessels, and the dragoons of General Kearney, decided to march upon Los Angeles, and thanks to the lack of concord which existed among the Californians and to their lack of arms and munitions, the resistance was less strong than what might have been; and after two engagements⁶ of the eight and ninth of January, in which the Americans again lost from twenty to thirty men, Commodore Stockton and General Kearney arrived before the city of Los Angeles. On the tenth the Mexican officer Flores, who commanded the Californians, announced to his troops that there was no more ammunition and that their last resource and the only means of saving the city was to charge upon the American square (*carré*).⁷ This square was defended by several pieces of cannon and surrounded by a large number of wagons, which rendered the approach difficult. Also, whether on account of these difficulties, or because the lack of arms and munitions had discouraged these men, this movement was executed without harmony and without energy, and failed entirely on account of a command to halt sounded by one of the officers when they were no more than sixty or one hundred yards from the square. After this effort, which cost them some men, they abandoned the city, which the American troops entered the same day, the tenth of January; and as they had again just been reinforced by five hundred men under the orders of M. Fremont, the Californians lost all hope, and entered into negotiations through the medium of several foreigners.⁸ These conferences had as their result a suspension of hostilities pending agreement upon articles of capitulation or terms of peace. Flores, who wished to continue hostilities, withdrew with five or six Californian officers and about twenty men of Sonora and Lower California. It is supposed that his intention was to go to Sonora.⁹

During this small campaign of three to four months, the Californians to the number of 650 to 700, not including those who revolted in the north under the order of Sanchez,¹⁰ which I had the honor of reporting to Your Excellency in my letter of the fifteenth of January, poorly armed, without munitions, without resources of any kind, and even suffering from all manner of privations, nevertheless comported themselves well and showed that they lacked neither courage nor constancy, and that they would be capable of a great deal of energy if they were aided, supported and well commanded. Their best praise is the difference

5. Respecting this encounter see Coy, Owen C., *Battle of San Pasqual*, Sacramento, 1921, which is the best account. Many articles appear concerning this and other phases of California history in the *Publications* of the Historical Society of Southern California, the best of which are written by the dean of historians of Southern California, the late J. M. Gwinn.

6. The Battle of San Gabriel took place on January 8, and the Battle of the Mesa on January 9. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 389-96.

7. For the engagement against the American square (*carré*) see Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, V, 395-96.

8. The foreigners who thus interceded were Célés, Avila, and Workman; see *ibid.*, V, 396.

9. On Flores giving up command see *ibid.*, V, 403-4; on his leaving see *ibid.*, V, 407-9 and III, 741.

10. On the Sanchez revolt see *ibid.*, V, 379 ff.

between the losses of the two parties in the battles of this campaign; for it is certain that the Americans, a thousand to twelve hundred men strong, well armed, well provided with everything, with a numerous artillery and supported along the coast and in the different ports by three frigates, three sloops, and several small vessels, nevertheless rarely had the advantage and had from sixty to seventy men killed, while the Californians had only eighteen killed and a few wounded.

A remarkable thing is that after the taking of the City of Los Angeles, all direction of affairs was left by Commodore Stockton to Lieutenant Colonel Frémont, although his [Frémont's] superior, General Kearney, named by the Government of the United States governor of California, was there and had commanded the troops that captured the city. What was even more extraordinary was the naming of this officer to the two most important offices, those of Civil Governor and Military Commandant, which certainly was scarcely a politic and prudent proceeding, and above all not appropriate to conciliate the people and to attach them to the new order of things.¹¹ M. Gasquet, acting French Consul at Monterey before my arrival in this country, undoubtedly has instructed Your Excellency¹² that M. Frémont, then a captain, came to California towards the end of 1845, with a party of armed riflemen, and even a cannon, without having obtained or asked permission; [that] he violated the territory, and under the pretext of exploring the frontiers of Oregon and California, established himself near the mouth of the Sacramento River, sixty leagues in the interior, and in a position which commands the entrance into this country from Oregon or from the United States; that in January, 1846, he came to Monterey to purchase horses for his party (*troupe*) and to ask permission to travel in California with an escort of armed men to protect him from the Indians; that this permission was positively refused him, because the express orders of the Mexican Government were to admit in California neither this officer nor his men, and to expel them, even by force if necessary; that in March of the same year he came with seventy armed men and with cannon, to within five leagues of Monterey; that there, having received from M. Castro, commandant-general of California, the order to halt and to return beyond the frontier, he withdrew to near San Juan and established himself on the mountain called *El Gavilan*, "The Hawk,"¹³ that may be seen from Monterey and where he hoisted the American flag; that seeing that the Mexicans were going to march against him, he again withdrew beyond the Sacramento River towards (*sur*) the Oregon frontier; that there he was joined by another officer of the United States Army, Lieutenant Gillespie, who [had] arrived in California on an American war vessel in May, 1846; that these

11. Stockton's controversy with Kearny is discussed in Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, V, Chap. XVI, *passim*; Nevins, Allan, *Frémont, the West's Greatest Adventurer*, N. Y., 1928, II, 345; the report on Frémont's court-martial, which sheds light on the controversy is in U. S. Docs., 30th Cong., 1st Sess., *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 33 (Serial 507)*. See also Ellison, J., "The Struggle for Civil Government in California, 1846-1850" in *Quarterly of California Historical Society*, X, 11-19; Kearny, Thomas, "The Mexican War and the Conquest of California," *ibid.*, VIII, 251-61; and U. S. Docs., 30th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 70 (Serial 521)*.

12. Gasquet's letters telling of Frémont and his activities are in Part I. See also Frémont, John Charles, *Memoirs of My Life*, Chicago and N. Y., 1887; Nevins, Allan, *Frémont, the West's Greatest Adventurer*; Goodwin, Cardinal, *John Charles Frémont*, Stanford University, 1930; and Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, V.

13. El Gavilan, or Hawk's Peak, is an eminence in the Coast Range near San Juan Bautista.

two officers returned with the riflemen to a point near the mouth of the Sacramento River where they were joined by several other American adventurers; that these men, directed and paid by M. Fremont, proclaimed the independence of California and were the authors of the revolt known by the name of the Bear Revolt (*la revolte de l'ours*), because they adopted a white flag with the figure of a bear in the center; that under the direction of this officer, who himself with several men remained on the east bank of the Sacramento River, these uprisings took place at Sonoma, which they captured, killing four defenseless Californians and arresting in their dwellings General Vallejo, Colonel Prudon and an American named Leese, brother-in-law of the General; that these prisoners were led to the place where M. Fremont was, who [Frémont] questioned them and had them conducted to the fort of New Helvetia, belonging to a Swiss named Sutter but of which M. Fremont had taken possession; that there the prisoners were detained for more than forty days, by order of the same officer and under the surveillance of several men who had come with him from the United States, and were not freed until long after the taking of possession of the country in the name of the United States; that M. Fremont under the orders of Commodore Stockton, marched with his riflemen and the other Bear rebels against the Californians, and that after the capture of the city of Los Angeles he was named by Commodore Stockton Military Commandant of the territory of Upper California.

To advance this officer to the rank of lieutenant colonel of the regular troops of the permanent United States Army, a nomination which he received in the month of November; to name him military commander and then civil governor of the very country whose territory he had violated, and where he had hoisted the American flag at a time when the United States was still at peace with Mexico, [a country which] he had invaded at the head of a band of adventurers. where he had waged a filibuster's war, and which he tried to revolutionize with the intention of seizing it; this [act] singularly disclosed the ulterior intentions of the Government of the United States, and was, Monsieur le Ministre, without delicacy or circumspection, and perhaps without prudence in a country where new difficulties might, and may yet occur if Mexican troops come soon, or if the invasions of the United States and of the American people bring about the intervention of the maritime powers of Europe; for this people, little reconciled as yet to these political changes, and generally unfavorable to the Americans, especially to the adventurers who came here with the sole aim of revolutionizing the country and seizing power, is especially discontented with Messrs. Fremont and Gillespie, particularly the former, whom everyone considers as the agent of a unique project of the United States and the principal author of the evils which have been suffered.

It is therefore certain that this measure was impolitic even under the present circumstances, in which there is very little danger of another uprising. For, despite the advantages obtained by the Californians in several engagements wherein the forces were of equal strength, the greater number among them know very well that in the condition in which they find themselves, without arms, with-

out munitions, without resources of any kind, it is absolutely impossible to contend forcefully and steadily against troops, which, in addition to the advantages which I have pointed out, have also the [advantages] of being well commanded, of unified action, and of moving [together] towards the same goal.

In addition to this discouraging and almost hopeless position which, for the Americans, is a sort of a guarantee against any uprising of any size, it is likewise a fact that this people, as I have had the honor of telling Your Excellency in my letter of the sixth of October, 1846,¹⁴ is much broken down by the disorders of its earlier governments, Californian as well as Mexican, and appears disposed to sacrifice or finally to exchange a part of its nationality, and of its independence, for institutions more adapted to its condition,—a more solid government, [with] the order, justice, and protection of a powerful though foreign state. It is true that the American nation was the last one of which it would have dreamed, if free in its choice or capable of opposing its invasions. It is even certain that if for some years it has dreamed of placing itself under the protection of a foreign power, it was for the purpose of separating itself from Mexico, which is to it onerous and useless, and for the purpose of avoiding the ambitious designs of the United States and the hostile projects of adventurers and American emigrants. It is equally the fact, Monsieur le Ministre, that France was the power of its predilection and the nation with which, even today, this people sympathizes, in which it has confidence, and with which it would like to unite itself. But without hope or confidence in its own forces, without hope of aid from the European powers, fearing, as I have above stated, the disorders of the former governments, the vengeance of Mexico if she came with considerable forces, the persecutions and immorality of her agents and military chiefs, [and the] pillage, theft and assassinations of her soldiers, not only does it resign itself but commences to imagine that the evil of the changes already suffered is less great than it appeared at first, and that, if it must make the painful sacrifice of its nationality and suffer the domination of those who have neither its customs nor its religion, and for whom in reality it only feels indifference, it hopes for at least some private advantages, the guaranty of property, peace, order, justice, and above all the prosperity of its country.

The only feeling of aversion which still exists in all its force, and which will probably last a long time, is that which is inspired by the difference in religion; but although there is in this regard a unanimity of opinion which for a long time will prevent any confidence and an understanding between the two peoples, this sentiment will not, however, be an obstacle to the establishment of the Americans in this country; for nowhere is religious animosity strong or violent except [when] under the influence of priests and in countries where organized religion manifests itself, if not with pomp and splendor, at least in an ostensible manner. Here the priest is lacking and religion is more domestic or private than [it is] public and national. There are only eleven priests in the whole of Upper Cali-

14. See Document III, *supra*.

fornia: seven former Mexican missionaries, some of them already very aged and incapable of serving the great extent of the inhabited territory under their jurisdiction, and four secular priests, Mexican half-breeds (*métis du Mexique*), men without education and without influence. Even the churches are for the most part structures without exterior sightliness and without interior ornament, which in many places remain closed during the entire year and are only used in the principal places such as Monterey, Los Angeles, etc., during a part of the year. In a country where public religion is so weak, so entirely deprived of pomp and prestige, where there is neither public religious instruction nor even schools, the difference in religion is of too little import to agitate the population or to excite jealousy or religious hatreds. I shall even observe to Your Excellency that, although the people of California may have had affection for its religion, of which some idea was given to them by private instruction among families, and the good moral [precepts] of which, be it said to their praise, they knew and observed better than the people of other parts of Spanish America, they have, however, but little [religious] fanaticism and enthusiasm, and if they feel estranged from the Americans as Protestants or heretics, this faint feeling, even today, will give way in time, and as I have had the honor of saying, will not be an obstacle to the establishment of the Americans in this country.

Everything seems, then, to favor the project of the United States, for these people, who, during the past seven or eight months that they have battled with the Americans, not having witnessed the appearance of any war vessel, either French or English, with the exception of the corvette *Brillante* upon which I came to this country, and which remained only five days at San Francisco and six days at Monterey, and an English exploring vessel which stopped at San Francisco for several days, have no longer the slightest hope of being aided by the powers of Europe. Mexico has so unworthily abandoned them; everyone in general is so dissatisfied with her [Mexico]; the principal families fear so much the conduct of her [Mexico's] soldiers and their leaders, that, even if Mexico should wish to and could at last send some troops, it is doubtful whether many Californians would still wish to join men from whom they have little advantage to hope, and whom all fear because of their views, their excesses and the disorder which they have always caused in this country.

This difference in the condition and the dispositions of the two parties is at this time especially very favorable to the Americans; for while the Californians, without revenue, without arms, without munitions, discontented with Mexico, fearing even an insufficient assistance, without hope [of help] from France and England, divided amongst themselves, without plan, without knowing in fact what they can accomplish or what would be best for themselves and their country, are, despite their repugnance and their real indifference to the Americans, ready to throw themselves into the arms of the United States, in order to emerge from this state of uncertainty. The Americans, on the contrary, with all the resources at their disposal to establish themselves in an almost impregnable fashion in the ports and principal places, are also perfectly agreed upon the goal which they

have set and all proceed toward the same end, that of taking this country and maintaining themselves here, no matter under what pretext or by what means.

The most astonishing thing is that far from hiding this project, they admit it and boast of it. In fact, Monsieur le Ministre, the commanders of the war vessels, the military leaders, the American residents in the country, as well as the numerous adventurers, who, under the name of *riflemen*, Mormons, or emigrants, especially the two first-named [classes], like other Goths, Huns or Vandals, come in the wagons which house them, from the western plains of the United States, where they were already living like half-savages beyond the jurisdiction of laws and beyond the reach of justice, across the Rocky Mountains and the deserts of Oregon, or by the equally difficult and long route from New Mexico; all declare that, if by the peace with Mexico it were stipulated that California should remain a territory or dependency of Mexico, all the Americans, volunteers, emigrants, old or new residents, all—even the troops which under the name of sappers, artillerymen, chasseurs, dragoons, etc., are coming here on board war vessels and transports, or by way of New Mexico under the conduct of generals and other military chiefs, and who are enlisted only for the duration of the campaign and on condition of being discharged in this country with arms and munitions—all would unite and take up arms to declare California independent, and to drive out the Mexicans if they should come to take this country again.

It is, moreover, a fact, Monsieur le Ministre, that if this country remains still longer in this state, that is, in the power of the Americans, and if the immigrants, however called, can continue to come here and to remain here, the force of circumstances alone will yield it to the United States, for within ten months their number will have increased to such an extent that they will have nothing more to fear, and that it will be entirely impossible for Mexico to reconquer this country without a very considerable force and the assistance of war vessels which it does not possess.

In order to convince Your Excellency of the truth of these facts, it will doubtless suffice to tell you that Lieutenant Colonel Fremont marched upon Los Angeles with five hundred men called riflemen; that Commodore Stockton had about one hundred under the orders of the officer Gillespie; that besides these six hundred men there remained of volunteers and armed men of the Mormon sect, in the ports of Monterey [and] San Francisco and on the Sacramento River, at least four to five hundred men. Since then, six hundred men, dragoons and chasseurs, have arrived at San Diego by way of New Mexico, and one thousand men, sappers, artillerymen, chasseurs, dragoons, etc., arrived at San Francisco and Monterey upon transports, which will make a corps of twenty-seven hundred trained and well-armed troops, composed of volunteers, some engaged for two years, others for the duration of the campaign, but all under the condition of remaining in this country with the means to defend and maintain themselves.

But these are not the only forces belonging to the United States or devoted to its interests that Mexico will have to fight and vanquish if she should desire to take possession of this country after the war, even if the peace treaties were to

guarantee it to her; for it seems that, [despite] the difficulties of coming from the United States of North America to California, and despite the fact that many emigrants have perished on the way from cold and hunger, the impulsion and activity that exaggerated descriptions and false hopes have given to the immigrants to this country are such that several hundreds of families are en route and should enter California when the season will permit of crossing the difficult passes of the Rocky mountains and the mountains of California. Among these immigrants are cited especially those of the new sect called Mormons, who, according to appearances, have agreed to meet in California, and in fact are coming to take it willy nilly, in order there to establish and freely exercise their new creed. The political events have slightly deranged their plan and have perhaps lessened the progress of those (several thousands) who are on the way; but have not, according to appearances, discouraged those who are here, who, not being able to fight and act for their own account, have, during the last hostilities, united with the other Americans, both to defend the ports and the places where they were and to march against the Californians. Towards the end of last year, they entered California in crowds and by all routes, directly from the United States, by boat or by land, by way of Oregon, by way of New Mexico, with their families and all that they need to establish themselves, and, what is most important, well armed, but remaining in congregations or communities under religious leaders or Prophets. It is these [Mormons] who are, of all the immigrants, the most to be feared, for though they are most commonly hard-working and industrious people, they are sectarians organized in [a religious] community and fired with the spirit of proselytism, and will probably be very troublesome to the authorities of this country and fatal to the old residents. Already their leaders or prophets have begun by giving a proof of their fanaticism and their hatred against the Catholic religion, in trying to seize the churches of this religion in the places where they are little used (*peu desservies*) and preaching sermons in them which disclose only too well the sentiments by which they are animated. It also seems, to judge by all their deeds, that they are ready to act with violence and to establish their mastery as soon as they are strong enough. Arriving on the banks of the [San] Joaquin River they took possession of a considerable stretch of land, established themselves and built dwellings there without asking the consent of anyone. Others have just done the same at Santa Cruz, twenty leagues from Monterey. They seem, moreover, to have the project of constituting themselves the majority in all the principal places, as they already are at Yerba Buena (Bay of San Francisco) in order to prevail in all the questions submitted to vote. It is true that the American authorities never seem to approve their conduct, and seem even rather ill-disposed towards their sect in general. They have forbidden those gathered at Yerba Buena and in the environs of San Francisco Bay to again enter the Catholic churches to preach there or to violate the sanctity of these places by their new practices.

One thing alone would have been able to interrupt the flow of the American invasion into this country, that was the last movement of the Californians, if it had been sustained, and especially if it had been successful enough to put these

establishments of the new immigrants in danger from their beginning; for I believe that, still fewer in number and tired by a long and painful journey and seeking a place of repose, they might have decided, as in fact many were already inclined to do, to turn again toward Oregon, their original destination, to establish themselves on the banks of the Columbia and Willamette rivers and in the surrounding valleys, some of which are beautiful and quite fertile. But now they will remain where they are and the others will continue on their way to California, a much superior country whose riches have been vaunted to them and which was offered them as prey by the American Government at a time when the latter perhaps had not yet formed the intention of conquering it; but when it was already nourishing the hope that sooner or later it would succeed by this means in gaining possession of this beautiful country which it had coveted for a long time, as much on account of its riches as for its fine ports on the Great Ocean.

It is certain, then, Monsieur le Ministre, that the United States proposes to possess this country either by right of conquest and treaties, or by the same means employed several years ago in Texas. It is equally certain that several of the principal Californians, especially the rich men, dread to see, with the return of the Mexicans, the reappearance of civil war, the Bear Flag and the authority of the Vandals who raised it, and would willingly consent, even desire, that the country remain in the power of the United States; while others, those who have figured in the revolutions since 1836, and who, capable of judging well the condition of the country and of seeing what is brewing, and who, moreover, dread the return of the Mexicans, especially if they were to come with insufficient forces, soldiers and leaders comparable to those whom they had formerly sent, [see in it] a veritable plague for this country, and to be feared more than the Americans themselves. They appear disposed to follow the American movement, and to place themselves at the head of it, as soon as by the peace [terms] California shall be declared again a territory of Mexico. [These plans are prompted] by patriotism and by the illusory hope of being able to direct [the movement] and to thwart the project of the United States, while pretending to aid it, by raising a barrier to the American invasion by calling also for French emigrants, English, Spanish, etc.; and [they hope to] form under the protection of France, England, and even of the United States, a republic or free state, equally independent of both Mexico and the United States.

This project which pleases many, and which Alvarado, the most enterprising and the most capable among them, seems impatient to put into execution as a last resort, will likely present many difficulties, apart from the possible refusal of the Powers to cooperate in the execution of this plan, and certainly will fail, if, as I have said, this country remains long in the power of the Americans; for the immigrants, continuing to enter in such great numbers, will be so many that they will dictate the law, and unless France and England should immediately intervene, the declaration of independence would serve, in fact, only to guarantee the possession of the country to the Americans, and to assure the future annexation of this new state to those of the United States.

The Americans on their part, feel that in their project they will have need for the good will of the inhabitants of the country, and of the aid of the influential men, especially if it should become necessary to revolutionize the country and render it independent of Mexico. In order to obtain this result, there is no cajolery that the former (*dernières*) commodores, and General Kearney, the new governor, would not make, especially to Alvarado, always the man to whom all look as the one most capable man to aid them or to hurt them, and as the only one capable of getting action in difficult circumstances where ready action, talent, and influence with all parties are required. To this end all constantly court him and treat him with ceremony and with deference, which often are carried too far and even excite the mockery of this keen and sly man. The twelfth of this month, he was invited aboard the vessel *Columbia*, where he was given thirteen cannon salutes and treated as governor. Returning to land, he told me, "They are throwing dust in my eyes; let's see what will come next." In fact, on the fourteenth, M. Colton,¹⁵ Alcalde of Monterey and Chaplain of the frigate *Congress*, came to see him, in the name of the two commodores, Bidle [sic]¹⁶ and Shubrick¹⁷ and of General Kearney, to tender him the office of Secretary of State, with a salary of four thousand *piastres* and the promise that upon the coming departure of General Kearney he should be made Governor. He refused, giving to understand that it was his firm determination not again to accept an office. Between nine and ten o'clock the same evening he, with his brother, came to see me, and after having told me what had taken place between Colton and himself, he said these words to me: "The time of another grave crisis for this country seems to be approaching, for [while] I do not believe that the Americans remain of right in possession of California, there is slight doubt that they are in fact already in possession of all lands in the environs of the Sacramento River, which is for the Americans the key or entrance to California. They are selling the lands of the municipalities of Monterey, San José, Yerba Buena, Sonoma, in fact in the whole country, in order to interest the purchasers in their cause. The remaining Mission lands, which we had considered as the property of the Indians, they are giving to the immigrants, and even to the Mormons, whom they do not like and seem even to suspect, but who at this time are numerous and can aid them. What can we do against so great a force, increased even more by the cloud of emigrants already en route, and who are only waiting for good weather to cross the mountains and enter this country? To oppose them, unless openly aided by France or England, would be folly. The only way still to maintain our name [and] our nationality, is to follow the course of events and to take the lead by pledging all of the most honorable among the French, English, and Americans, to unite with us to declare the country independent under the protection and the guarantee of [the] three powers; to ask colonists from France and England; in short [from] all countries, but especially Catholics, as more united in the same cause, and capable of balancing the influence and number of

15. Rev. Walter Colton. Colton does not mention this episode in his *Three Years in California*.

16. Commodore James Biddle.

17. Commodore W. Branford Shubrick.

the Americans. This project," he added, "is not without disadvantages, it is even doubtful whether it will succeed, because the great number of Americans and our absurd jealousies and divisions will oblige us, perhaps, to choose one of these foreigners for leader, or to have all the horrors of civil war. But despite these dangers it is the only way left to us; for there is no hope from Mexico; great projects, promises, but never any action. If she [Mexico] could be sincere and send us a respectable force, materials, assistance, a leader in whom we might have confidence, all of us would join with her [Mexico] and the country soon would be seen purged of all these hordes of adventurers. But this hope is in vain, she will give us no aid; there will be sent, as before, only thieves, assassins, incapable leaders, whose avidity and vices have been and will again be the greatest calamity of this country. The protection of France alone would have been better but at this moment everyone is uncertain and confused, and in order that such an attempt might be made, and have united support, it would be necessary to have war vessels, positive assurances and even assistance. Unfortunately time presses, and the Americans seem determined to take advantage of it. I long to know what the powers of Europe intend to do, if they will remain indifferent in this struggle and will leave in the hands of the United States this fine possession from which, with the control (*empire*) of the seas, it will rule Mexico and will exercise an all powerful influence over all the other republics of this continent."

That is in substance his language, which I felt I should report because it gives some idea of the discontent, the uncertainty, and of the difficult position in which these people find themselves. There is not, however, the slightest doubt, that if Mexico were to send forces under a commendable leader such as the one who is said to be at Sonora, General Bastamante [sic],¹⁸ the love for their country and hatred for the Americans would prevail over all other considerations and all would unite with the Mexicans to combat and drive out the Americans. But despite all that, there will always remain a certain distrust and a discontent, which will render the task of reconciling them with the Mexicans very difficult, and which, provoking new difficulties, will bring them sooner or later to declare their independence and to solicit the protection of some European power.

I have had the honor of telling Your Excellency that General Kearney arrived in California via New Mexico; that he was in command of the troops which captured Los Angeles. This general had orders to take possession of California, of which he was named Governor. Commodore Stockton took it upon himself to oppose these orders by naming Lieutenant Colonel Fremont Civil Governor.¹⁹ and by confirming him in his office of military commandant. The latter likewise refused to obey the orders of the General, although [the General was] his superior in rank, and of the same regiment.

18. There was a rumor that a Mexican army under General Bustamante was coming to reconquer California. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 449.

19. On Stockton's and Fremont's controversy with Kearny see Ellison, Joseph, "The Struggle for Civil Government in California, 1846-1850" in *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, X, 11-19, and Bancroft, V, Chaps. XVI-XVII.

Commodore Shubrick, who arrived here the twenty-second of January on the frigate *Independence* to replace Commodore Stockton in the command of the Station, etc., also had orders, apparently, to support the position of his government relative to the appointment of General Kearney. Having had this general come to Monterey, he received and greeted him as Governor of California.

Meanwhile Commodore Stockton and M. Fremont tried to organize the new government and appoint a council, composed of seven persons, four Californians, two Americans and an Englishman.²⁰ Among the first named again appeared the ex-governor Alvarado, but all with the exception of General Vallejo refused. M. Fremont also sent an officer to Monterey to organize the civil government there, but Commodore Shubrick who had had suspended all the measures taken by Commodore Stockton and Fremont, ordered the officer sent by the latter to resume his functions aboard one of the vessels in the port. General Kearney renewed the order already given to M. Fremont to withdraw with his five hundred riflemen to the Sacramento River, but it seems, according to news in circulation, that he again refused to obey.

This conflict and dispute for the supreme authority among the principal military leaders of the United States, and which soon was known and published, provoked on the part of Commodore Shubrick and General Kearney a sort of a notice to the inhabitants of California by which they made known the functions, the jurisdiction and the authority assigned to each of them, by virtue of the orders of the President of the United States. Enclosed I have the honor of remitting to Your Excellency a copy of this Document, No. 3.²¹

The Americans here are complaining a great deal against the conduct of Commodore Stockton and of M. Fremont, and they seem now to blame these two leaders for the arbitrary and violent measures formerly taken, and Commodore Shubrick as well as the new governor made fine verbal and written promises to atone for everything and to indemnify those who had lost on account of these measures.²²

The Californians are pleased to see these divisions and many hope that M. Fremont will not stop half-way. It is also believed that the riflemen and the volunteers will refuse to obey and will not wish to leave the south.²³ It is doubtful, however, that things will come to this extreme, although there is much animosity among the leading authorities: we must believe that the more prudent will yield rather than to lose this country by their dissensions. That is even more probable since the majority seem to be under the influence of one and only one passion: that of enriching themselves. It is remarkable at any rate to see how all classes

20. M. G. Vallejo, David Spence, J. B. Alvarado, Thomas O. Larkin, Eliaz Grimes, Santiago Arguello and Juan Bandini were appointed by Stockton on January 16. See Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 433.

21. No enclosures were found with this letter. This proclamation by Shubrick and Kearney of March 1, 1847, is given in Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 457. According to its terms Kearney assumed the government and Monterey was declared the capital. This circular is also found in U. S. Documents, *11th Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 17 (Serial 573)*, p. 288.

22. Kearney's proclamation of March 1, 1847, is in *Ibid.*, pp. 288-89, and also in Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 438-39.

23. Fremont finally left a few months later. See *Ibid.*, V, 445 et seq.; Nevins, *Fremont*, II, Chapter I; and Goodwin, *John Charles Fremont*, Chapter VIII.

throw themselves with a sort of fury into land speculations; even the captains and officers of war vessels have had given them or have purchased lands on the Sacramento River, at Sonoma, at San Francisco, at Monterey, and some think that the principal aim of M. Fremont himself, who already has considerable possessions, in assuming provisionally the direction of affairs, is only to assure himself of large possessions in the most fertile regions and the best situated places in this country. It is by his orders that the Americans have taken possession of orchards, vineyards and the best land which still remains at some [of the] missions.

Already, as Your Excellency will have noted above, the American authorities are ceding the following lands: municipal lands in the vicinity of the ports, cities and towns. This measure which one might have believed political, and which in fact afforded a means of attaching the interest of the Californians, English, French, etc., to the new order of things, seems on the contrary to have no other aim but to place all these lands in the hands of the Americans, for it was found that before this measure was made public, and before any plan was made for the enlargement of these municipalities (*l'extension de ces établissements*), all the best-situated lands had been given to American officers, merchants, etc. Within less than three days there was not left at Monterey, within a mile from the port, a single piece of land big enough to build a house on.

The second of this month there arrived here from Lima the vessel *Columbus*, Commodore Biddle, which again occasioned some changes in the direction of affairs; for he took supreme command of the Naval forces and in that capacity took over the direction of everything relative to ports, regulations, customs, etc.

By a notice [proclamation] of Commodore Biddle, of which I have the honor of sending you a copy,²⁴ the blockade of all the ports on the west coast of Mexico²⁵ as declared by Commodore Stockton August 19, 1846, has been annulled, and has been reduced to the blockade of the ports of Mazatlan and Guaymas only.

The first of March, General Kearney, having taken the title of Governor of California, addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of this country.²⁶ This document is exactly the same as the proclamation that he published, likewise in the capacity of governor, at Santa Fé, capital of New Mexico, August 23, 1846. Both of these documents show that they [the Americans] are establishing themselves in this country not by virtue of a provisional military occupation, but in right of sovereignty and as if these countries already belonged to the United States.

I have the honor of being, Monsieur le Ministre, with the most profound respect,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

The Consul of France,

J. A. MOERENHOUT.

24. No enclosures were found with this despatch.

25. Concerning the blockade see Smith, J. H., *The War with Mexico*, II, 205-6 and 446-47.

26. This proclamation is found in U. S. Documents, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 17 (Serial 573), pp. 288-89; in Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 438-39; and in the *California Star*, March 20, 1847.



Monument to Moravianism, St. In.

VIII

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
(Box Monterey; Correspondence of M. Moerenhout, No. 4;
Received Nov. 11, 1847.)

Monterey, March 31, 1847.

Monsieur le Ministre:¹

I should have liked to have given Your Excellency some details concerning the commerce of this country; but it has been impossible for me to obtain exact information concerning the movement of the year 1846, and neither the number of vessels nor the amount of imports or exports is exactly known. It appears, however, that the exported hides approach the figure of 65,000.

Value at the place (of sale)	\$120,000
Tallow	20,000
Soap	10,000
For the Russian establishments, 2500 <i>fa</i> [?] ²	5,000
Salt meats, fresh meats, and other provisions for the ships	40,000

\$195,000

The value of the merchandise imported is not known at all, not even approximately. That of an average year did not exceed 140,000 *piastres*, including the custom duties which were about eighty per cent. It is believed that last year, although since July or since taking possession a great deal of merchandise has been imported free of duty by American ships, or by foreign vessels paying only fifteen per cent., the total value of imports exceeded that of the preceding years. I will also point out to Your Excellency that hitherto the commerce of this country has only been a commerce of exchange of the products of the country for articles of foreign manufacture. This commerce, which was carried on only by means of long credit and by detaining the ships six to eight months, to go from port to port to receive the hides, tallow, etc., was almost exclusively in the hands of two or three firms of Boston, and of the Sandwich Islands. Commerce with these last named islands has greatly increased since the United States took possession of this country; but although well situated (ships can go there and return here in two months) they [the Sandwich Islands] do not as yet afford a market capable of furnishing all the merchandise necessary for this country. Mexico also sends generally one or two small vessels with sugar and some cloth, especially *reboxos*, a sort of shawl of silk or cotton made in Mexico; *mangas*, a kind of poncho but very much larger than the Chilian ponchos, also either of silk or wool, and often selling for from one to two hundred *piastres*; and *serapas* [serapes],

1. A portion acknowledging receipt of various government publications, etc., is omitted.

2. Probably an abbreviation of *fanegas* (Spanish bushels) and referring to grain, of which the Russians obtained considerable quantities from the Californians. The amount listed here was possibly Sutter's annual payment to the Russian-American Company on his purchase of their property at Fort Ross and Bodega. See *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, XII, p. 270 (*Russians in California*, p. 82).

absolutely like in form to the *mangas* but only in wool and generally ordinary [in quality] for the use of the Indians and of those who tend the cattle. The English have tried to imitate the *reboxos* and the *mangas*, but with little success, [as] those made in Mexico are the only ones sought after or saleable here.

A single French ship, the *Lion*,³ which came to California toward the end of the year 1846, to obtain some cattle for the Marquesas Islands and Tahiti, introduced some merchandise, but of foreign manufacture, with the exception of wines and brandy. Our shawls and other silk stuffs, silk hose, ribbons in small quantity, laces, merinos, calicos, muslins, printed cotton stuffs, ready-made clothing, shirts, shoes for men and women, some glass-ware, cutlery, furniture, mirrors, pendulum-clocks of medium quality, already a little out of style, some perfumery, woolen stuffs, bed-clothes, red stuffs of medium and first quality for skirts and petticoats for women, some wines, brandy, liqueurs, dried fruits—these are all articles that can be sold; but as I have had the honor of saying, the credits are long and this commerce can only be carried on by persons who have visited California and know the needs of the country and the manner in which merchandise is disposed of there; for although the duties have been reduced to fifteen per cent, the valuation being made according to the price at which the articles sell on shore, the duties are too high to permit the establishment of a storehouse.⁴

Provisions are just now very scarce and very dear, and M. Bonnet, captain of the ship *Lion*, having made known to me his intention of returning here with a cargo of provisions if he could obtain exemption from duties, I asked this of Commodore Shubrick who arrived here January 22. Enclosed⁵ I have the honor of sending you his reply,⁶ but this favor which he accords to French ships has since been rendered general for ships carrying provisions.

I also felt obliged to address myself to this Commodore to submit to him my complaint against M. Frémont and the grievances of the French. Enclosed I have the honor of remitting to you the copy of my letter and of his responses which, as Your Excellency will notice, decided nothing in either case.⁷

I have the honor of being with the deepest respect,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. A. MOERENHOUT,

The Consul of France.

3. Bonnet was master of the French transport *Le Lion*. He was at Monterey in June, 1844, and was allowed to purchase cattle and provisions for the Marquesas Islands, against cash and drafts. In August he was at Sausalito, where he refused to pay for a guard to prevent trade. After probably wintering on the coast, the *Lion* sailed in April, 1845, with four hundred cattle, losing three hundred and fifty and her masts on the voyage. In August, Bonnet was back at Honolulu on his way to California, where his arrival is not recorded. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, IV, 567. See also *ibid.*, III, 382-83.

4. Concerning commercial regulations, levies, etc., see *ibid.*, V, 570-74; U. S. Docs., 30th Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. 1, pp. 552-89; also *Serial* 573, pp. 404-10, 422-25.

5. Some of the enclosures mentioned in this dispatch were not found with it, but were located elsewhere in the files.

6. On February 4, Moerenhout wrote to Commodore Shubrick, referring to a letter from Bonnet, master of the *Lion*, and asking if the exemption there requested could be accorded. The Commodore's reply, dated February 9, stated that while the regular duty on imports was 15 per cent, in consideration of the Consul's request "and of the great scarcity of provisions of all kinds upon the coast of California" M. Bonnet's request would be granted. Furthermore, "any French vessel, coming to the Coast of California, laden with such provisions as beef, pork, bread, flour, butter, cheese and other necessary articles of food, will be admitted free of duties, from the 1st of March to the 1st of September," 1847. Wines and strong liquors were to remain subject to the established duty.

7. The enclosures referred to were copies of Moerenhout's letter of Feb. 10, 1847, and Commodore Shubrick's reply, dated on the U. S. ship *Independence*, Monterey, Feb. 19, 1847. They were found with the letter in "Box Monterey," as were the enclosures referred to in the preceding footnote. Moerenhout reiterated his complaint against the insolence and effrontery of Frémont in refusing to receive official communications and requesting Moerenhout to

IX

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Moerenhout, No. 6, Duplicata;

Received Aug. 12, 1847; Copy sent to Dept. of Commerce.)

Monterey, April 30, 1847.

Monsieur le Ministre:

I should have liked to have sent my [dispatch] No. 5¹ to Your Excellency, in which I have the honor of speaking to you at length concerning the political condition of this country; [but] I cannot do so on this occasion. I will observe, however, that since the retaking of the city of Los Angeles and the capitulation of the Californians,² the country is quiet, although the inhabitants still show themselves hardly reconciled to the new order of things, and up to the present there is neither effusion nor trust and no intimate relations between the two parties. The people appear resigned, however, and disposed to await their fate from the issue of the war between the United States and Mexico.³

I beg of you to receive, Monsieur le Ministre, the assurance of my deep respect.

The Consul of France,

J. A. MOERENHOUT.

For two days, there has been much movement of troops; several compan[ies] are about to leave for the south. An expedition from Sonora or from Lower California is spoken of,⁴ but it will be very difficult for any considerable number of men to come by [way of] these deserts. On the other hand, M. Limentour⁵ assures me that the General who is commanding at Sonora has neither troops nor money and is incapable of attacking this country, while the Americans have here, besides the naval force, which consists of a ship of the line, two frigates of sixty guns, and three sloops of war, at least two thousand infantry and cavalry men and from twenty to thirty field pieces.⁶

1. Dispatch No. 5 is Document No VII, dated March 15, 1847. It was received with this letter on August 12, 1847.

2. The recapture of Los Angeles by Stockton and Kearny on January 10, 1847, and the capitulation or treaty of Cahuenga are discussed in Moerenhout's dispatch No. 5 (Doc. No. VII, *supra*). References to other sources are there given.

3. The portion omitted deals principally with the quicksilver mines, which will be covered in a later issue; also with the seizure of the English schooner *William*.

There is also a reference to an incident arising out of the seizure, in San Diego, of the French schooner *Anais*, commanded by "*Monsieur Limentour, capitaine au long cours*"—none other than the author of that most ambitious of frauds, the enormous land grants exposed as forgeries in *U. S. v. Limantour*, 3 Hoff. Land Cas. 389, 26 Fed. Cas. No. 15, 601 (U. S. Dist. Ct. N. D. Cal., 1858).

4. Concerning this rumored invasion see Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 449; U. S. Documents, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 17 (Serial 573)*, p. 286; and Cooke, P. St. Geo., *Conquest of New Mexico and California*, N. Y., 1878, 299-303.

5. See footnote 3, *supra*.

6. The number of troops in California at this time was 1,059. Kearny to Marcy, Monterey, April 28, 1847. U. S. Docs., 31st Cong., 1st Sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 17 (Serial 573)*, p. 286.

move his office to San Francisco. He also put before the Commodore the now familiar complaints of Messrs. Panaud and Dague concerning their mistreatment by Frémont and the Monterey authorities. He informs the Commodore that he has reported the grievances to his government, and closes with the hope of being able to announce that "by your decision, the reparation which is due me as Consul of France, has been given me and that the wrongs done to my countrymen have been recognized and repaired." Shubrick's reply was courteous, expressing regret of the unpleasant difficulty between the Consul and Frémont, stating that the correspondence would be forwarded to the Secretary of State, and that a representation of the case through the French Minister at Washington "will doubtless receive the attention of the Government." As for the claims "of the French subjects," they would be heard and adjudged as soon as a civil government had been organized and appropriate tribunals established.

X

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Moerenhout No. 9;
Received Feb. 5, 1848)

Monterey,
September 25, 1847.

Monsieur le Ministre:¹

California continues to enjoy the most perfect tranquillity. Far even from thinking of the state of war which still continues in Mexico, the Americans behave as if this country were already theirs, and as if they were sure of remaining here. In fact, Monsieur le Ministre, everywhere that American emigrants are found, there reigns an extraordinary activity. At Monterey more than thirty large and beautiful houses, of stone, of bricks, or of adobe (large bricks kneaded and mixed with straw and dried in the sun) are now being erected and will be finished before winter. The Government has also constructed there a handsome fort, mounting twenty 10-inch guns (*pièces de 24 [centimetres]*), which commands the city and the port, and with barracks, magazines, etc.² At Yerba Buena, port of San Francisco, which I visited toward the end of July³ there are today more than four hundred American emigrants settled,⁴ and if the growth of this [that] city, already so extraordinary, does not progress even faster, it is only for lack of [both] workers and materials. Indians, who a year ago earned four or six dollars (*piastres*)⁵ per month, are today paid a dollar or a dollar and a half per day. Lumber, which before the arrival of the Americans, sold for two or two and a half cents (*sols*)⁵ per superficial foot, and of which entire cargoes have been exported to the Sandwich Islands and elsewhere, is scarce now in California and is sold at Yerba Buena and at Monterey for from fifty to sixty dollars per thousand feet. At Monterey a small piece of land of fifty varas frontage by a hundred varas in depth, belonging to a Frenchman, has just been sold for one thousand dollars. At Yerba Buena another piece of land, smaller yet, has been sold for two thousand dollars, and there a sort of tide flat, divided into four hundred and fifty lots of sixteen and a half varas frontage by fifty varas in depth, but of which only two hundred and twenty-five lots have been put on sale, has produced over thirty thousand dollars; some lots have risen to six hundred dollars; not one has been sold under fifty. At the pueblo of San José, situated three

1. A portion of this letter, dealing with the decreased volume of commerce, exorbitant customs duties, etc., is omitted. Among other things the consul observes that "the presence of so many warships, as well as land troops, has put a great deal of money into circulation and has given extension and a great deal of activity to the commerce of this country."

2. Concerning forces, see e.g., Mason to Jones, number 19, Monterey, Sept. 18, 1847, U. S. Docs., *31st Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 17 (Serial 573)*, pp. 335-39.

3. Regarding Moerenhout's visit to San Francisco in July, see footnote 14, *infra*.

4. On the population of San Francisco in 1846, see Soulé, Frank, *et al.*, *The Annals of San Francisco*, New York, 1855, pp. 176-77.

5. Moerenhout apparently used the word *piastre* (piaster) as the equivalent of either the Mexican *peso* or the American dollar, and that of *sol* or *sou* as corresponding to *centavo* or cent. The American terms will be used in the translation from this point as probably most expressive of the intended meaning.

leagues from the southern extremity of the Bay of San Francisco, and in one of the most beautiful and most fertile plains of California, all the so-called communal lands are also in the hands of the Americans; but few houses have been erected there because there is a total lack of laborers and materials.

Besides these purchases of lands and these numerous constructions, they have also the project of forming two new towns (*villes*); one named Benicia,⁶ already divided into lots, is to be built near the Straits of Carquinez (Bay of San Francisco); the other, announced under the Indian name of *Halo Chamo*, should be built northwest of the Sacramento River and near its mouth.⁷ The location of the former is in a place almost without water and wood; but where the crossing of the bay is narrow and easy. The location of the second is in a more beautiful and fertile spot. There are some private enterprises there, in which some respectable merchants are venturing considerable sums, but in which the government is not interested. It is also doubtful that they will succeed, and I mention it here only to show to Your Excellency the spirit of enterprise and the apparent security of the American emigrants who have just established themselves in California, and who should assure the progress of this country if they remain here.

The frigate *Congress*, and the sloops *Dale* and *Portsmouth*, have just left for Mazatlan, and the frigate *Independence*, and the sloops *Plebe* [*Preble*] and *Cyane*, are to leave at the beginning of October under the orders of Commodore Shubrick, likewise destined for the west coast of Mexico. According to what is publicly said here, they are going to attack Mazatlan, Guaymas and San Blas.⁸

The departure of these ships will leave California almost without naval forces, for there will remain only the sloop *Warren* and one or two small vessels, captured on the coast of Mexico and badly armed. Even the land forces⁹ have been considerably reduced and would even be insufficient to maintain the peace of the country, if these people were not tired and above all discouraged by the state of abandonment in which they were left during the preceding encounters with the Americans. Of the corps of riflemen, about six hundred men, two hundred have returned to the states, alone or as escorts of General Kearney,¹⁰ Colonel Fremont, and of Commodore Stockton; another two hundred have gone to Oregon, and those who remain and who, for the most part, have [had] stations in this country for a long time, having retired discontented and disgusted, will, I believe, no longer want to march against the Californians, whatever the state of the country. Of five to six hundred men who came with General Kearney from New Mexico, under the title of *Dragoons*, more than half belong to the Mormon sect.¹¹ These three or four

6. For the founding of Benicia see Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 670-74.

7. A projected town on John Bidwell's Ulpinos grant on the Sacramento River, the promoters of which were Bidwell, Major P. B. Reading and Capt. J. D. Hoppe. The Indian name of *Halo Chamo* or *Halo Chemuck*, meaning "nothing to eat," was found appropriate by the settlers, who abandoned it after several months of hardship. See Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, VI, 18; V, 674. Its advantages are glowingly described in the *Californian* for Aug. 28, 1847.

8. On Naval operations in Lower California, see Smith, Justin H., *War with Mexico*, N. Y., 1919, II, 206-8, 446-49; and U. S. Docs., 30th Cong., 2nd Sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 1* (Serial 537).

9. See footnote 2, *supra*.

10. See Emory, W. H., *Notes on a Military Reconnaissance*, Washington, 1848; Cooke, Philip St. George, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California*, N. Y., 1878; Porter, Valentine Mott, "General Stephen W. Kearny and the Conquest of California," *Publications of Historical Society of Southern California*, Vol. VIII, 1911.

11. Concerning the Mormon Battalion, see Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, V, Chap. XVIII; Golder, F. A., *The March of the Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs to California*, New York, 1928; and Tyler, D., *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War* (Salt Lake), 1881.

hundred individuals, far from being useful, or from being fit to be employed to maintain the security and the tranquillity of the country, on the contrary gave uneasiness to the American authorities. They were discharged and in part disarmed and dispersed in the country. They are likewise of such disposition that the government cannot and dares not count upon them. There remains the regiment of Colonel Stevens [on]¹² and the artillery of about eight hundred men. This regiment being in large part composed of foreigners, has lost a hundred men by desertion and forty to fifty by illness. Two hundred to two hundred and fifty men have left on the warships for the west coast of Mexico. Thus there remain in California only about six hundred men divided as follows:

Two hundred and fifty men at San Diego, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara; one hundred and twenty men at Monterey; one hundred and fifty men at Yerba Buena, Sonoma and on the Sacramento; eighty men at the Pueblo of San José and on the march against the Indians of the Tulares (on account of horse stealing and other depredations committed by these Indians).

Even immigration this year will be insignificant, on account of the disasters which occurred last year, when many perished from hunger and from cold in the Sierra Nevada Mountains.¹³ Only ninety wagons are announced [as coming] by the usual pass of these mountains; a very much more considerable number should come via New Mexico, but the rumor is about that they have been intercepted on their route, so that this year the number of Americans capable of bearing arms, instead of having increased will have diminished considerably. This state of things might become dangerous for the Americans established in this country, if Mexico were in a position to send the smallest force to California, for these people, peaceful rather than submissive, have acquired a great confidence in their strength since their last engagement with the Americans and with the prevailing discontent so general, they would rise *en masse* if the least aid came from Mexico.

As I am very far from several of the principal points of this country, it is only with difficulty that I am able to obtain information as to what is going on, even facts concerning the Frenchmen who reside there. Some months ago I was informed that a Frenchman named Barric [Charles Barric] had died in Los Angeles, and despite the measures I have since taken it has been impossible for me to learn either his Christian names or the place of his birth. Furthermore it seems that this Frenchman had had himself naturalized a Mexican. He left his affairs in the most deplorable condition; bankruptcy was declared and the claims already were in excess of thirty thousand dollars. This very moment I am in receipt of the news that one of his partners, also a Frenchman, has blown his brains out, and the rumor is current that another Frenchman has been mur-

12. On Colonel Stevenson's regiment, see Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, V, 499-518; Clark, Francis D., *The First Regiment of New York Volunteers*, New York, 1882; Lynch, James, *With Stevenson to California, 1846* (privately printed, Tierra Redonda, 1896); and *The Journal of Lieutenant John McHenry Hollingsworth*, San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1923.

13. Perhaps referring to the tragedy of the Donner party, concerning which see Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, V, 530-44. There is a large bibliography of works dealing with this episode in California history. See McGlashan, C. F., *History of the Donner Party*, Truckee, 1879; and Houghton, Mrs. Eliza P., *The Expedition of the Donner Party*, New York, 1911.

dered.¹⁴ Such events might perhaps require my presence; but to go from here to Los Angeles would require a longer absence than I could undertake without Your Excellency's permission. The expenses of a trip by land would be considerable, for several horses would be necessary and at least two men to accompany me on account of the dangers of the road. The occasions [for going] by sea are rare and such a voyage would necessitate an absence of two or three months at least. I have written to a respectable Frenchman, resident at Los Angeles, to obtain some information concerning these matters.¹⁵

The same reasons caused me to undertake a trip to the Pueblo of San José, to Yerba Buena and to Santa Cruz, where Frenchmen were exposed to being dispossessed in the most unjust fashion. The American local authorities not daring to withstand my intervention, it was easy for me to get them to reverse their arbitrary decisions and to do justice to my countrymen.¹⁶ I profited by this opportunity to go a little farther, to the Strait of Carquinez, near the northeast end of San Francisco Bay, and to visit all the principal farms in the northern part of California. My title of Consul everywhere sufficed to assure me the most cordial reception on the part of the well-to-do, and a truly friendly greeting from the inhabitants of all classes.

This little journey furnished the occasion for making observations on the state of this country's resources, on the Californian establishments called *ranchos* [and] on their occupations, as well as on the character and enterprises of the American emigrants. I will try soon to give a short account of my observations to Your Excellency.¹⁷

At the Pueblo of San José ten Frenchmen have established themselves in a manner both honest and profitable. M. Sansilvain [Pierre Sainsevain], a native of Bordeaux, has started two mills for grinding wheat, on a fine stream of water which flows through the town and into San Francisco Bay three leagues to the north. With the exception of four who sell hard liquors, all the other Frenchmen are working at their trades of carpenter, cooper, etc.

At Santa Cruz M. [Charles] Roussillon, also of Bordeaux, in partnership with M. Sansilvain, has set up a sawmill in the midst of an immense forest [in the Santa Cruz mountains] and on a stream sufficient to keep the mill going day and night all the year round. The establishments of these Frenchmen are among the largest of their kind to be found in this country.

At Yerba Buena I found only two Frenchmen, a baker and a blacksmith, each working at his trade.

I have the honor of being, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

The Consul of France,

J. A. MOERENHOUT.

14. Auguste Louis Martin and Julien Bertalot. Further details concerning them and Baric appear in Doc. XI, footnote 1, *infra*.

15. This letter bears the ministerial notation: "Ackn. rec't and *app* [approve?]. Invite him to name consular agents at the places where there are Frenchmen and where he will not be able to go."

16. See, e.g., Doc. VI, footnote 2, *supra*.

17. No correspondence of this description was found in the archives.

XI

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Moerenhout, No. 10; Received June 5, 1848. Direction Commerciale. Extract for Chancellery. Copy sent to Department of Commerce, July 27, 1848.)

Monterey, January 1, 1848.

Monsieur le Ministre:¹

... The warships and transports of the United States fleet having left California last October to attack the ports on the west coast of Mexico, commerce here is already beginning to languish and money is becoming very scarce. In fact, as soon as this country is reduced to its own resources, cash (*numéraire*) will be absolutely lacking and commerce, which can be only a commerce of barter, will undoubtedly for a long time to come be as hazardous as it will be unimportant.²

Upper California continues to enjoy perfect tranquillity and it is probable that the continued reports of disasters in Mexico will keep it in the same state until peace. Meanwhile the Americans established in this country continue all their enterprises with the same activity and, by the number of houses and other buildings that they are erecting, will soon change even the appearance of the principal places. But the long duration of the war appears to have stopped emigration to this country. According to the latest news, two or three thousand emigrants who had left the United States to come here, have changed their route, and have just arrived at Orïgon [sic], while all those of the Mormon sect,³ who had likewise left the United States to come to California, remained in a valley near the great Salt Lake, about one hundred and fourteen to one hundred and fifteen degrees of longitude from Paris, and forty-one degrees north latitude, with the intention of forming there a settlement where all those belonging to this sect are invited to assemble: a project, which, if carried out, will be all the more important to the United States because that is the point of junction of all the roads from the United States to the West, and [the point] from which the two great routes⁴ to California and Orïgon leave together: the first, which follows a west and west-northwest direction, along the Snake and Columbia rivers, leads both to Orïgon and California, and the second, which in following the chain of the Wahsatch [Wasatch] Mountains in a south-southeast direction, to one hundred and seven-

1. A portion dealing with routine consular matters is omitted. It concerns the disappearance of Saget and the death of [Martin?] Lecoq at Santa Barbara; the deaths of Charles Baric (March 21, 1847), Auguste Louis Martin (suicide, Aug. 29, 1847), Julien Bertalot (murdered July 4-5, 1847), and Louis Auguste Bauchet (Oct., 1847), all at Los Angeles; and the state of their affairs. See also Doc. X, footnote 14, *supra*.

2. A passage regarding the mercury mines is reserved for a later issue.

3. On the Mormon settlements, see: Bancroft, *History of Utah*; Neff, A. L., "Mormon Migrations into Utah," MS (Ph.D.) thesis, University of California Library; Creer, L. H., *Utah and the Nation*, Seattle, 1929; Werner, M. R., *Brigham Young*, New York, 1925, etc. The literature concerning the Mormons is extensive.

4. On overland routes to California, see: Coy, Owen C., *The Great Trek*, San Francisco, 1931; Goodwin, Cardinal, *The Trans-Mississippi West*, New York, 1922; Ghent, W. H., *The Road to Oregon*, New York, 1929; Hulburt, A. B., *The Forty-niners*, Boston, 1931.

teen degrees longitude and thirty-seven degrees fifty minutes north latitude, where it joins the Santa Fe or New Mexico route, leads in a few days either to Upper or to Lower California. This settlement should then indeed become the general rendezvous as well for the emigrant or traveler going from the United States to Oregon or California, as for those who may be returning from these countries to the United States, and [the place] where both will find the rest and relief necessary to the pursuit of their immensely long journey across the continent.⁵

I have the honor of being, with the deepest respect,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. A. MOERENHOUT,

/ The Consul of France.

XII

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Moerenhout, unnumbered; Received June 22, 1848. Extracts sent to Departments of Commerce and Travaux Publics, Aug. 1, 1848. Extracts sent to Chancellery.)

Monterey, March 15, 1848.

Monsieur le Ministre:¹

The commerce of this country continues to languish, and even the enterprising spirit of the immigrants seems to have calmed down a bit; for the long absence of the fleet and the resultant lack of money has [sic] obliged most people to suspend the purchases of lands and the construction of houses and other buildings which they were putting up in all parts of California. According to other reports the tranquillity which this country continues to enjoy favors these enterprises and contributes to their progress.

It seems, moreover, that the people, discouraged by their own reverses and disgusted with the conduct of the Mexicans, decided to mix no further in the struggle. Although Don José Castro,² the ex-Commander-General, may have returned to this country in a slightly suspicious manner, claiming to have left Mexico clandestinely just at the time when he was raised to the rank of general which he accepted; his return here, which at first excited some uneasiness among foreigners and provoked a more rigorous surveillance and some measures of safety on the part of the American authorities, produced no effect upon the people who remained quiet. Whatever his projects may have been, the return of this general,

¹ 1. The portion omitted refers to enclosed lists of vessels entering and leaving Monterey from July 1 to Dec. 1, 1847, and death certificates of Frenchmen who had died at Los Angeles; and deals with the estate of one of them, Bauchet.

² 2. See Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 585-86. *Ibid.*, II, 750-51, contains a brief outline of Castro's life. See also United States Docs., 31st Cong., 1st Sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 17 (Serial 573)*, p. 472 (letter of Mason to Castro, Feb. 7, 1848).

5. A short paragraph, mentioning routine enclosures (which were not found), is omitted.

who never exerted much influence upon his compatriots, did not occasion any movement or agitation. He lives for the present at Monterey, but is to retire to San Juan Mission where he still has some little property.

Some volunteer troops, about two hundred and fifty men, who arrived here from the United States during the course of February, were sent immediately to La Paz, in Lower California, where the inhabitants have revolted and were threatening the garrison. The Governor here (*d'ici*), has also just dispatched a boat for Origen and has sent an officer with a detachment to the great Salt Lake near the Rocky Mountains where the Mormons who were coming to California stopped, to try to recruit some volunteers from among them. For it seems that he received the order from his government to reorganize the battalion of mounted riflemen³ which General Kearney had licensed before his departure from California, for the public works (*travaux publics*).⁴

I have the honor of being, with the most profound respect,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. A. MOERENHOUT,
The Consul of France.

XIII

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF MARINE

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Moerenhout, unnumbered;

Received June 20, 1848. To Commerce Department, Aug. 1, 1848.)

Monterey, March 15, 1848.

Monsieur le Ministre:¹

As Your Excellency will notice, the total of the merchandise imported far exceeds that of the sales, and in fact many vessels are obliged either to remain for a long time on the Coast or to place a large part of their cargoes on consignment in the various ports; for although large sums have been put in circulation by the presence of the American fleet and troops, this country having still a very small population, the consumption of merchandise could not increase in proportion to the quantity imported, and the stores being overloaded with goods, purchases and speculations necessarily decreased.² Also, despite the fact that many articles of our manufacture are in demand here, the outcome of a shipment from France would still be very uncertain and could not succeed unless stores were established in the principal ports and [unless] hides were taken in payment.

1. A portion referring to and explaining lists of vessels entering Monterey between July 1 and December 31, 1847, is omitted.

2. Some commercial statistics for California in 1847-48 are given in Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, V, 570-71.

3. See especially Mason to Adjutant General of the U. S. A., No. 31, Monterey, April 2, 1848, U. S. Docs., *31st Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 17 (Serial 573)*, pp. 463-64; and Mason to Abernethy (Governor of Oregon), Monterey, Jan. 28, 1848, *ibid.*, pp. 467-68; and other letters of Mason, *ibid.* pp. 469-71, 477, 512-40 *passim*. Mason's decree of February 12, 1847, is in *ibid.*, pp. 476-77. See also, Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 711-18.

4. The remainder of this letter, dealing with the quicksilver and other mines, is reserved for later use.

Moreover, these hides being carelessly removed and ill prepared, need to be resalted and redried before they can be exported. This commerce might nevertheless become important in the future; because as soon as the fate of this country has been well determined, it will be able to export:

	[FRANCS]
150,000 Cattle hides price 10 francs	1,500,000
1,000 Otter pelts at 150 to 200	200,000
Beaver, fox, etc. pelts	200,000
15,000 Cwt. of Tallow at 35	2,625,000
	[Francs] 4,525,000

These are the principal products which serve as objects of trade and which it [this country] could furnish immediately, although up to the present only a part has been exported. To these things it will soon add its wood, its salmon fisheries, its agricultural products, salt and dried meats, its immense riches in mines of quicksilver and precious metals.³ Also it is probable that if California remains in the power of the United States it will go ahead with great strides as soon as the peace shall have been concluded and when an active, industrious and enterprising population gives an active movement to commerce, to agriculture and to the exploitation of so many other branches and resources [sic] of riches which exist and ask only to be brought to light [?] (*ne demandent pas [que?] d'être mis au jour*) to make this country one of the most flourishing, richest and most important of the Americas.

All the American fleet is on the west coast of Mexico.⁴ Only the brig *Warren* remains in California. There are also very few troops, but with the quiet⁵ which reigns and the apparent disposition of the people, large forces are no longer necessary in this country. There is no danger of another uprising.

I have the honor of being, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

The Consul of France,

J. A. MOERENHOUT.

3. The consular correspondence contains much data on mining in California, both before and after the discovery of gold, and what is certainly one of the most remarkable and comprehensive accounts of the Gold Rush in its early stages, including the diary of a trip through the mines in July and August of 1848. This will be published in forthcoming issues of the *Quarterly*.

4. Concerning naval operations during the war with Mexico, see Smith, *War with Mexico*, II, 189-209.

5. The calm before the storm. More than six weeks had passed since the discovery of gold at Sutter's mill, January 24, 1848, but the news spread slowly at first. The first newspaper notice appeared on the date of this letter, March 15, in the *Californian*, at San Francisco. Sometime in February, Sutter had sent Charles Bennett to Governor Mason at Monterey with a sample of gold, in an endeavor to secure title to the mill property. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, VI, 43-44; Sherman, William T., *Memoirs*, N. Y., 1875, I, 40. Bennett let the news out at Benicia (Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, VI, 43) and at Yerba Buena. Brown, John Henry, *Early Days of San Francisco*, S. F., 1933, pp. 70-72. But Colton, the alcalde at Monterey, did not hear of it until May 29. Colton, Walter, *Three Years in California*, N. Y., 1850, p. 242. It was first mentioned by Moerenhout in his next dispatch, dated at San José, May 15, 1848, which will appear in the next number of the *Quarterly*.

WESTERN HISTORY

A CHECK LIST OF RECENT ITEMS RELATING TO CALIFORNIA AND THE WEST*

ASBURY, HERBERT

The Barbary Coast, an informal history of the San Francisco underworld. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933. 319+xi pp., ill. [Includes an illuminating account of the Chinese in California.]

BANCROFT, GRIFFING

Lower California: a cruise. The flight of the Least Petrel. New York: Putnam's, 1932. xi+396 pp., ill., maps. [Descriptions include old Mission sites in Lower California.]

BARTLETT, VIRGINIA STIVERS

Mistress of Monterey. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1933. 320 pp. [Fiction. The story of Eulalia, the wife of Pedro Fages, Governor of the Californias.]

BOLTON, HERBERT EUGENE

Font's complete diary, a chronicle of the founding of San Francisco. Translated from the original Spanish manuscript and edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933. xix+552 pp., ill.

The publication of this reprint of Padre Font's diary from Dr. Bolton's five volume work on Anza's expeditions was made possible by Sidney M. Ehrman, past-president of this Society. As stated on the wrapper, "San Francisco, imperial city of the Golden Gate, looking out across the western sea, stands today a monument to Anza and his Spanish pilgrims." Of the accounts which have come down from Anza's day, Padre Font's is the most important, and it is gratifying that this remarkable diary has now been made available in a separate volume.

BREBNER, JOHN BARTLET

The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806. New York: Macmillan, 1933. xv+502 pp., maps. [Chap. 22, "Spanish California."]

BROWNE, MARTHA FAY RAMBO

The Golden Gate and its old fort. San Francisco, 1933. Privately printed for the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of California, Frontis., 12 pp. and 1 p. bibliography.

CAUGHEY, JOHN WALTON

History of the Pacific Coast, privately published by the author, 405 Hilgard, Los Angeles, 1933. 429+x pp., ill.

In compressing the history of the Pacific Coast from the Mayas to Boulder Dam into one volume, Dr. Caughey has not been so presumptuous as one might think. The work is not put forth as anything other than what it was intended to be—a text book based mainly on secondary rather than source material. As such it should be very serviceable in western schools and universities, for its treatment of the subject is lucid and sufficiently colorful to hold the interest. The references for "collateral reading" and the index add considerably to its value. It will make good reading for anyone in or out of school who desires a general survey of the development of the Pacific Coast—a view, so to speak, of western history in panorama.

* Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.—CHARLES L. CAMP.

CHALFANT, W. A.

The Story of Inyo. Bishop, Calif.: Copyright by the author, 1933. 430+vii pp., front. [Revised and extended edition, with material on disasters following the building of the Los Angeles Aqueduct.]

CHAPMAN, CHARLES EDWARD

Colonial Hispanic America: a history. New York: Macmillan, 1933. xiii+405 pp., ills., maps. [Brief treatment of Spanish expansion in North and South America.]

CLEMENS, S. L. (MARK TWAIN)

"The Lick House State Banquet Menu." Lick House state banquet given by Messrs. Clemens and Pierson (at expense of the proprietors of the hotel), to their customary dinner companions. San Francisco, Saturday, May 16th, 1868. Tarrytown, N. Y., reprinted by W. Abbott, 1932. In the *Magazine of History*, Extra No. 176, p. 70. [Sample items: *Soup*—*Soupçon de soupe*; *Fish*—Whale, Esquimaux style; *Cold*—Ham, *also* Shem and Japhet; *Coffee*—*Boiled*; *Entrees*—Terrapin, Seraphim, Cherubim and sich; *Broiled Missionary*, with mushrooms; *Roast*—Invited Guest, stuffed; etc., etc.]

COLEMAN, RUFUS A.

The Golden West in story and verse. New York: Harper Bros., 1932. xxi+442 pp.

COLTON, HAROLD S.

A Survey of prehistoric sites in the region of Flagstaff, Arizona. Smithsonian Inst., Bureau of Amer. Ethnol., Bulletin 104, 1932. vii+68 pp., ills., maps.

COWAN, ROBERT ERNEST, and COWAN, ROBERT GRANNISS

A Bibliography of the history of California, 1510-1930. San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1933. 2 vols. and index. I, v+337 pp.; II, pp. 339-704; Index, pp. 705-825. [An enlarged and revised edition of the Bibliography published by the Book Club of California in 1914.]

CRAIG, NUTE N.

Thrills, 1861 to 1887. Oakland: Privately published by the author [5402 Ignacio Ave., Oakland, Calif., 1931]. 62 pp., ills. [Civil War, Kansas, Wyoming and Rocky Mountains in the '60's and '70's, California, 1887-.]

DAGGETT, STUART

Railroad consolidation west of the Mississippi River. University of California Publications in Economics, 11, 1933, pp. 127-256, maps. [Policies and problems of past and present.]

DANE, [GEORGE] EZRA

The Lucky louse or, blood will tell, being an exciting & authentic story of life & luck in the California mines during the days when gold was free, & illustrating a most ingenious method for getting rid of it, etc., &c. Recently put into print for the amusement of his friends by Lawton Kennedy of San Francisco, in Sansome Street [1933]. Frontis., [14] pp.

DOBIE, CHARLES CALDWELL

San Francisco, a pageant. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1933. xiv+351 pp. Many illustrations by E. H. Suydem.

FERRIER, WILLIAM WARREN

Berkeley, California. The story of the evolution of a hamlet into a city of culture and commerce. Berkeley, California: Published by the author, 1933. xviii+406 pp., ills.

FIERRO BLANCO, ANTONIO de [Pseud.]

The Journey of the Flame. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933. xviii+295 pp. [Historical

fiction, dealing with the exploits of one Señor Don Juan Obrigón in the "Three Californias" during the days of later Spanish exploration.]

GAY, ANTOINETTE GUERNSEY

Calle de Alvarado. *Monterey Trader*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Feb., 1933) weekly, to date. [Historical reminiscences, tales and folk-lore of the Monterey region, as related by old timers.]

GIFFORD, E. W.

The Cocopa [Indians of the Colorado River delta]. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 31, 1933, pp. 257-334, ills.

GRANT, MADISON

The Conquest of a continent or the expansion of races in America. New York: Scribners, 1933. xii+393 pp., maps. [Written by the chief exponent of the Nordic hypothesis.]

GRIFFITH, G. W. E.

My 96 years in the Great West, Indiana, Kansas and California. Los Angeles: "Copyrighted by George W. E. Griffith," 5915 Echo Street, Los Angeles, 1929. [5]+284+[5] pp., ills. [Relates chiefly to pioneering in Kansas.]

HOLDEN, WILLIAM CURRY

Alkali trails, or social and economic movements of the Texas frontier, 1846-1900. Dallas: The Southwest Press, 1930. ix+253 pp.

ICKES, ANNA WILMARTH

Mesa land. The history and romance of the American Southwest. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933. x+236 pp., ills.

JAEGER, EDMUND C.

The California deserts. A visitor's handbook. Stanford University Press, 1933. x+207 pp., ills. [Largely natural history, with chapters by S. Stillman Berry and Malcolm J. Rogers.]

LILIENTHAL, JESSE

Gambler's wife. The life of Malinda Jenkins, as told in conversations to Jesse Lilienthal. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933. Port., xi+296 pp. [In the backwoods of Indiana and Kentucky; on a sod-house homestead in Kansas; log cabin days in Texas; Oregon and Washington; San Francisco in the '80's; with the Alaskan gold rush over Chilcoot Pass. No other narrative gives so vivid a picture of a woman's life on the frontier.]

[LYSER, ALICE I., and ASHBY, ELEANOR]

Spain and Spanish America in the libraries of the University of California. A catalogue of books. Berkeley: The University of California Printing Office, 1928, 1930. 2 vols. Vol. I, 846 pp.; II, 839 pp.

McMURTRIE, DOUGLAS C.

Pioneer printing in Montana. Iowa City: Privately printed [from the *Journalism Quarterly*, June, 1932] 16 pp., 3 facs.

—Pioneer printing in Wyoming. Cheyenne; Privately printed [from the *Annals of Wyoming*, Jan. 1933]. 16 pp., 1 facs.

MILNER, JOE E., and FORREST, E. R.

Life of California Joe, noted scout and Indian fighter, with an authentic account of Custer's last fight by Col. William H. C. Bowen, New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1933. Ills. [110 copies in the "Limited edition."]

NORRIS, KATHLEEN

My California. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1933. 38 pp.

REEDY, WILLIAM MARION

The City that has fallen. San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1933. Reprinted from *Reedy's Mirror*, April 26, 1906. iii+13 pp.

REPPLIER, AGNES

Junípero Serra, pioneer colonist of California. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1933. vi+312 pp.

PARISH, JOHN C.

California through four centuries. In "California from legendary island to statehood." An illustrated hand-list of an exhibition at the Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, Calif. [Also printed separately.]

POE, JOHN W.

The Death of Billy the Kid. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933, xlv+60 pp. [2d ed. With a valuable introduction by Maurice Garland Fulton.]

SABIN, EDWIN L.

Kit Carson days [1809-1868]. Adventures in the path of empire. New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1933. Ills. [Revised ed., with six additional chapters. The Large Paper edition is limited to 200 copies.]

SABIN, JOSEPH, *et al.*

A Dictionary of books relating to America from its discovery to the present time. New York: 476 Fifth Ave., 1933, pp. 5-196. [Pts. 139-140, Storrs to Stuart.]

SIMPSON, HENRY I.

The Emigrant's guide to the gold mines. Three weeks in the gold mines, or Adventures with the gold diggers of California in August 1848: together with advice to emigrants, with full instructions upon the best method of getting there, living expenses, etc., etc., and a complete description of the country. With a map and illustrations. By Henry I. Simpson of the New York Volunteers. New York: Joyce & Co., 1848. Tarrytown, N. Y., 1932, reprinted by W. Abbatt. In the *Magazine of History*, Extra No. 176, pp. 3-67, ill.

STEWART, JULIAN H.

Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 33, 1933, pp. 233-350, ill.

STEWART, GEORGE R., JR.

A Bibliography of the writings of Bret Harte in the magazines and newspapers of California, 1857-1871. University of California Publications in English, 3, 1933, pp. 119-170.

TORCHIANA, H. A. VAN COENEN

The Story of the Mission Santa Cruz. San Francisco: Paul Elder, 1933. xix+460 pp., ill. [Includes a study of the entire Mission movement.]

TOUT, OTIS B.

The First thirty years, being an account of the principal events in the history of Imperial Valley, southern California . . . San Diego: privately published, 1931. 420 pp., ill. [Imperial Valley, 1901-1931.]

WAGNER, HENRY R.

Spanish explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Santa Ana, California: Fine Arts Press, 1933. v+323 pp., 13 maps and plans. [An extensive, scholarly treatise, from the original documents.]

WILSON, RUFUS ROCKWELL

Out of the West. New York: Press of the Pioneers. 452 pp., ill. [American expansion on the Western frontier, fur trade, California gold rush, pony express, etc.]

WILTSEE, E. A.

The Franks of Hunter & Co.'s Express. Reprinted from the *Collector's Club Philatelist*, Vol. XII, No. 3, July, 1933. 13 pp., ill.

WOODBURY, JOHN TAYLOR

Vermillion cliffs. Reminiscences of Utah's Dixie. Denver, Colorado, 1933. 88 pp., ill. [The history of the Rio Virgin settlement. Edited by Leroy R. Hafen and Ann Woodbury Hafen.]

COLORADO MAGAZINE

Vol. X, No. 5, Sept., 1933, contains: "Early fiction of the Rocky Mountain region," by Levette Jay Davidson; "Recollections of a trip to the San Luis Valley in 1877," by Albert B. Sanford; "Mountain men—Andrew W. Sublette," by LeRoy R. Hafen; "Territorial days," by Martha A. Morrison; "The Middle Park Claim Club, 1861"; "The Lawrence party of Pike's Peak (1858) and the founding of St. Charles," by Frank M. Cobb. Vol. X, No. 6, Nov. 1933, contains: "Crossing the plains to Colorado in 1865," by Charles Stewart Stobie; "Albert H. Pfeiffer," by Laura C. Manson White; "Colorado's last Indian 'war,'" by Major John H. Nankivell.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS

Vol. XV, Part II and III, 1932, contains: "Fremont-Pico Memorial Park (Campo de Cauenga)," by J. Marshall Miller; "Report of Commodore Stockton"; "Articles of Capitulation, Treaty of Cauenga"; "Don Geronimo Lopez," by Charles J. Prudhomme; "Restoration of Mission San Diego de Alcalá," by Albert V. Mayrhofer; "Restoring California's first Mission," by J. Marshall Miller; "Los Angeles when it was a city of vines," by Mrs. A. S. C. Forbes; "Gardens of the Spanish days of California," by Charles Gibbs Adams.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. VIII, No. 3, July, 1933, contains: "Some general aspects of the Gadsden Treaty," by Frederic A. Coffey; "Kin and clan," by A. F. Bandelier; "Clans of the Western Apache," by Grenville Goodwin; "Dictamen of Pedro Galindo Navarro," by Vsevolod Basanoff; "Fray Estevan de Perea's *Relacion*," by Lansing B. Bloom.

Vol. VIII, No. 4, Oct., 1933: "Las Vegas before 1850," by Verna Laumbach; "When Las Vegas was the Capital of New Mexico," by F. S. Donnell; "*Bienes Castrenses*," by Vsevolod Basanoff.

OREGON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. XXXIV, No. 2, June, 1933, contains: "Roll of Overland Astorians, 1810-12," by Kenneth W. Porter; "The Lure of the River," II, by Fred W. Wilson; "William Hobson, Quaker missionary," by F. Harold Young; "France and the Oregon question," II, by George Vern Blue; "Pio-Pio-Mox-Mox," by J. F. Santee.

Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, Sept., 1933, contains: "Harvey W. Scott, historian," by Joseph W. Schafer; "Harvey W. Scott, editor," by Chester Rowell; "The Revolution on the Oregon Coast," by F. W. Howay; "Petitions of Oregon settlers, 1838-48," by C. J. Pike; "Aberdeen and Peel on Oregon," by Robert C. Clark; "Beef-canning enterprise in Oregon," by J. Orin Oliphant; "Voyage of the Sequin, 1849"; "Brigs Pallas and Chenamus," by Avery Sylvester; "Basque settlement in Oregon," by Ione B. Harkness.

PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. I, No. 4, Dec., 1932: "The Critical period of British Columbia history, 1866-1871," by Walter N. Sage; "The Californias in Spain's Pacific otter trade, 1775-1795," by Adele

Ogden; "An Expansionist in Baja California, 1855," ed. by Rufus Kay Wyllys. Vol. II, No. 1, March, 1933: "Reopening the Anza road," by George William Beattie; "The Project for a French settlement in the Hawaiian Islands, 1824-1842," by George Verne Blue. Vol. II, No. 2, June, 1933: "The Republic of Lower California, 1853-1854," by Rufus Kay Wyllys. Vol. II, No. 3, Sept. 1933: "Laws for the better government of California, 1848," by Lindley Bynum.

QUARTERLY OF THE SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS

Vol. X, 1933, contains: "From Europe to California," extracts from letters of Charles Grunsky and his wife, 1844-53; "Some poets of San Francisco," by Edward F. O'Day; "Mrs. Elotia R. Craddock," by Charles O. Shurtleff; "Memoirs of Captain Anthony Y. Easterby"; "Jasper O'Farrell—his survey of San Francisco," by Helen Putnam Van Sicklen; "The Jasper O'Farrell correspondence."

TOURING TOPICS

July, 1933, contains: "When Kino led the way to California," by Frank C. Lockwood. Aug. 1933: "Cavalcade from Mexico," by Agustin Janssens as told to Thomas Savage; "California's worst Governor [Mariano Chico]," by Phil Townsend Hanna; "Glorious San Xavier, Lower California's first Mission," by John S. Gorby. Sept., 1933: "Fort Ross and Bodega," by Jessie Davies Francis; "Bohemian supper—a macabre episode in the life of Ambrose Bierce," by Reine Bennett. Oct., 1933: "Prehistoric pageantry in stone, by Philip Johnston; "Henry A. Crabb, filibuster," by Lewis R. Works; "Saga of the inland fleet," by Gerald MacMullen. Nov., 1933: "Saga of old Fort Tejon," by Philip Johnston; 'Here oranges like ruddy lanterns shine,' by John L. Von Blon; "Sappho of the Western Sea [Ina Coolbrith]," by Reine Bennett.

WASHINGTON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. XXIV, No. 3, July, 1933, contains: "How Asia used to drip at the spout into America," by Marius Barbeau; "The Signers of the Oregon Memorial of 1838," by Cornelius J. Brosnan; "Origin and meaning of the geographic name Palouse," by C. C. Todd; "Was there a printing press in Washington in 1844?", by Douglas C. McMurtrie; "Society in Cariboo during the gold rush," by Isabel M. L. Bescoby; "The Erection of Kitsap County," by Chloe Sutton; "High schools in Territorial Washington," by Frederick E. Bolton; "Astorians who became permanent settlers," by J. Neilson Barry. Vol. XXIV, No. 4, Oct., 1933, contains: "Captain Cornelius Sowle on the Pacific," by F. W. Howay; "The Big Bottom (Lewis County) 1833-1933," by Walker Allison Tompkins; "A Note on the origins of the strife between Sir George Simpson and Dr. John McLoughlin, by Walter N. Sage; "Pioneer days at old Dungeness," by Mrs. George Lotzgesell; "High schools in Territorial Washington" (concluded); "Astorians who became permanent settlers" (concluded).

BOOK REVIEWS

CALIFORNIA AS IT IS AND AS IT MAY BE, Or a Guide to the Gold Region. By F. P. Wierzbicki, M. D., with an Introduction [and a Bibliography] by George D. Lyman. Drawings by Valenti Angelo. San Francisco, 1933. (xxxii)+101+(iii) pp.

TRAITS OF AMERICAN INDIAN LIFE AND CHARACTER, by a Fur Trader. San Francisco, 1933. (ix)+107 pp., ill.

REMINISCENCES AND INCIDENTS OF EARLY DAYS OF SAN FRANCISCO (1845-50), by John Henry Brown. With an Introduction & Reader's Guide by Douglas Sloane Watson. San Francisco, 1933. (viii)+138+(v) pp., decorations, map.

These handsomely printed little books conclude the "First Series" of rare Americana reprints which has put the Grabhorn Press in the front rank of contributors to the history of California and the West. The earlier numbers of the series have previously been reviewed in this *Quarterly*.

Wierzbicki's book of fact and prophecy has several claims to distinction. Issued from Washington Bartlett's press at No. 8 Clay Street, in September, 1849, it was the first book in English to be printed and published in California. Although the interest aroused by the Gold Rush had already brought forth a number of books which purported to give accounts of California and its resources, this is the first to separate fact from fancy, to sift information through the sieve of common sense, and to give really sound and practical advice to those proposing to seek their fortunes in the western El Dorado. The new arrivals in San Francisco were bursting with curiosity, and pursued the older residents with a thousand questions. Wierzbicki was an old timer of two years' residence. He had "seen the elephant" and could describe it. He proposed by his book "to benefit both parties, the *amoying* and the *annoyed* . . . and anticipate all such questions by suitable information, upon which they can put at least some reliance, as we are neither a merchant, a trader, nor speculator in land or mines." It is apparent now that those who did rely on the Polish doctor's advice were not misled, for nearly all his prophecies have been fulfilled. California was the loser when this versatile man went to his early grave on Lone Mountain, and the gainer when Dr. Lyman raised his fallen tombstone and resurrected him in an introduction which converts an unpronounceable name into a most engaging character.

John Henry Brown, San Francisco's first hotel keeper, needed no resurrection other than the reprinting of the pages in which he makes the reader so well acquainted with himself and his guests and friends at the Portsmouth House, Brown's Hotel, The City Hotel and the Parker House in drowsy Yerba Buena and awakening San Francisco. Under the outlandishly spelled names with which he labels them, and which Mr. Watson has deciphered in his "Reader's Guide," the great and the small of the "Early Days" come to life. We meet the gigantic "Dr. Sample" (Robert Semple) whose legs were so long that they stuck out of an ordinary bed far enough to roost a flock of chickens, and required him to attach his spurs at the calf instead of the heel. We see the brave citizens rush to the defense of the Pueblo when Brown's coffee-machine explodes. In a room of Brown's Hotel we hear Bennett whisper the first news of the discovery at Sutter's Mill and see him pour out the glittering proof before incredulous eyes and negotiate with Humphrey, the Georgia miner, for the construction of the "rocker" which set the example for the thousands who followed. Brown's sturdy story is of the sort that puts flesh on the bones of history.

The "Traits," which first appeared in 1853, is a collection of red-blooded tales told in a naive Victorian manner, mainly about the Indians of the Northwest, and adventures of a Hudson's Bay Company trader with them in the 1820's, 30's and 40's. Its principal interest to Californians is in its report by Jedediah Smith to the author of the massacre of ten of his men by the Umpqua Valley Indians, in 1828. The stories are told in the first person by the anonymous "Fur Trader," whose identity has long been in dispute,¹ but is established so convincingly as to satisfy the most skeptical in a recent communication to the Society by Judge F. W. Howay. The principal claims to authorship are in behalf of Donald Manson, Duncan Finlay-

1. See appendix to Father Morice's *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia* (London, 1906) pp. 349 ff.

son and Peter Skene Ogden, all connected with the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pacific Northwest during all or a part of the period covered by the book. Starting with the premise that the most that could be attributed to any one of these frontiersmen is the substance rather than the form of these much furbished tales, Judge Howay carefully rearranges their incidents and settings into chronological order, and lays over this pattern what is known of the careers of each of the three reputed authors. Finlayson's does not fit at all. Manson's deviates markedly. But with Ogden's life, as it has been independently reconstructed,² the correspondence is shown by Judge Howay to be practically complete. Both Ogden and the modest "Fur Trader," for example, were in or near California in 1828 and again 1829, in 1830 lost several men in the rapids at the Dalles, were at Fort Vancouver during the epidemic of 1830, and at the time of the Whitman massacre in 1847. And there is direct as well as circumstantial evidence, for pioneers, who had never seen the book, recorded their recollections of the manuscript which Ogden had lent them to read.³

GEORGE EZRA DANE.

2. T. C. Elliott, "Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, pp. 229-478.

3. T. C. Elliott, *op. cit. supra*, p. 268.

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Alameda Free Library	Alameda, Calif.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Bradley, P. R.	San Francisco	Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee
Burt, P. D.	San Mateo, Calif.	Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee
Culbert, William H.	San Francisco	Mr. Lee L. Stopple
de Young (M. H.) Memorial Museum	San Francisco	Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee
Dobbins, Mrs. Hugh T.	Berkeley, Calif.	Miss Stella Huntington
Dulfer, Paul A.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D.
Feigenbaum, B. J.	San Francisco	Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee
Hughes, Marshall	Redwood City, Calif.	Miss Margaret V. Girdner
Johnson, Walter W.	Berkeley, Calif.	Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee
McNear, F. W.	San Francisco	Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee
Pruett, John F., M. D.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D.
Rugg, Stuart A.	Berkeley, Calif.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
San Francisco State Teachers College	San Francisco	
Sowers, Roy Vernon	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D.
Stoddard, Walter	Sacramento, Calif.	Mr. Carl I. Wheat
Tuomey, Miss Honoria	Bodega, Calif.	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Stockton Free Public Library*	Stockton, Calif.	Miss Stella Huntington

*For the year 1934.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

THE Society held its June luncheon meeting on Sunday, June 25, 1933, at Villa Fair View, in Santa Cruz, the home of Dr. and Mrs. H. A. van Coenen Torchiana, who hospitably opened their doors to the members of the Society and their guests. It was a great privilege to enjoy the beauties and restful atmosphere of that charming place. After luncheon under the trees by the guest house, the company gathered at the edge of the mesa in front of the house where the City of Santa Cruz and Monterey Bay lay spread before their eyes. Dr. Torchiana spoke to the company, dealing briefly with the history of Santa Cruz, past and present, and of the Mission. After telling of various individuals who had contributed to the past history of Mission and City, he introduced to the Society, Father McGrath, pastor of the restored Mission church, the Mayor of Santa Cruz and other citizens who had joined with Mrs. Torchiana and himself to receive the Society. After adjournment, the members were shown various points of historic and social interest in and about the city. About one hundred members and guests enjoyed this memorable occasion.

The Society held a luncheon meeting on Tuesday, August 22, 1933, at the Clift Hotel. The speaker of the day was Captain I. N. Hibberd; his topic, "The Sailing Ships' Part in the Development of California." He showed how the gold seekers of 1849 were entirely dependent on the sailing ship for the transportation of all the necessities of the community, as the mule back transit of the Isthmus rendered that only fit for passengers and mail. After California had demonstrated that it was to have a permanent population, the need for speed was largely responsible for the development of the clipper ship. Captain Hibberd gave some account of this period and the records of various ships and voyages. He then described the transition from this form to that of the semi-clipper familiar to all San Franciscans who can remember the appearance of the Bay fifty years ago. With the opening of the railroad, high priced freight could be moved faster than even clipper time. So vessels of greater burden requiring smaller crews came into being. On such vessels the speaker had served in his youth. They brought our coal, cement and steel, and carried away our grain for a generation. But with the advent of the modern freight steamer and the opening of the Panama Canal, that era became a memory. The talk was illustrated by personal experiences and anecdotes. There were fifty-nine members and guests present.

On Tuesday, October 17, 1933, the Society was addressed by Miss Floride Green, at a luncheon meeting held at the Clift Hotel. Her subject was "Mrs. Lillie Hitchcock Coit." This timely presentation of an intimate account of San Francisco's early day favorite preceded the dedication of the Coit Tower. Miss Green, beside being a personal friend, has Mrs. Coit's journal and much of her correspondence, hence she spoke with authority as well as affection.

It would be impossible to do justice to a very interesting narrative and characterization in a sentence or two. It is to be hoped that Miss Green will put in print the account which her hearers enjoyed.

There were sixty members and guests present.

On Tuesday, October 17, 1933, the society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel. The speaker was Mr. Francis P. Farquhar; his subject, "Phoenixiana—The Story of Lieut. George H. Derby, who made California in the early '50's roar with laughter—his topographic surveys, genuine and spurious; how he dammed the San Diego River and changed the politics of the *San Diego Herald*; his proposals for improving the army uniform, his burlesques, his practical jokes, and his hoaxes." This address is very well described by its title. But that does not do the speaker entire justice, for he gave a summary of Lieutenant Derby's life and a background for the setting of the incidents that was essential for the proper appreciation of the selections which he read. These were thoroughly enjoyed by the audience of the 1930's. There were sixty-one members and guests present.

On Wednesday, November 22, 1933, Dr. Frederic L. Paxson, Margaret Byrne Professor of American History at the University of California, addressed the Society at a luncheon meeting held at the Clift Hotel. His subject was "The Approach of the Frontiers." Going back to the earliest Colonial settlements, Dr. Paxson showed how the influence of frontier conditions on the newcomers, in the course of two generations had wrought changes in the thoughts and habits of the colonists which were recognized when they returned to England for education or business. As the new settlements became stable and accumulated wealth, the younger generation had untouched land to the west to which, in successive waves, they moved. The pioneer settlers of each successive frontier bred another set of settlers for another frontier. Each fought first the battle of individual survival, then that of the creation of local government. This process continued until the end of the last century and marked a development unique in the history of any nation. It also has been one of the marked influences in the creation of the American institutions under which we live.

There were thirty-nine members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

JUNE 1 TO NOVEMBER 30, 1933

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Ames, C. W., *From trough to crest*, S. F., 1927; Armer, Laura A., *Waterless mountain*, N. Y., 1932; Austin, Mary, *The land of little rain*, N. Y., c. 1903; Bade, W. F., *Life and letters of John Muir* (2 vols.), Boston, 1924; Bierce, Ambrose, *Horsemen in the sky*, S. F., Book Club of Calif., 1920; Idem, *Shadow on the dial*, S. F., 1909; Bland, Henry Meade, *Stevenson's California*, San Jose, c. 1924 (autog.); Idem, *The University of California*, San Jose, 1930; Book Club of California, *Board of Directors*, etc., S. F., 1913; Brooks, Geo. W., *The Spirit of 1906*, S. F., 1921; Brothers, Hal J., and Todd, F. M., *San Francisco, serene, indifferent and beautiful*, S. F., 1924; Brown, John Henry, *Reminiscences and incidents of early days of San Francisco*, S. F., Grabhorn, 1933; Carlin, Eva V., ed., *A Berkeley year*, Berkeley, 1898; Choris, Louis, *San Francisco one hundred years ago*, tr. by Porter Garnett, S. F., 1913; [Clute, B. M., and Coolbaugh, A. B.], *The University of California*, Berkeley, c. 1931; Cowan, Robert E. and Robert G., *Bibliography of the history of California*, S. F., Nash, 1933 (2 vols. and index); Davis, Wm. H., *Seventy-five years in California*, S. F., 1929; Dawson, Emma F., *A gracious visitation*, S. F., Book Club of Calif., 1921; Dobie, Charles C., *San Francisco, a pageant*, illust. by E. H. Suydam, N. Y., 1933 (autog. by author and illustrator); Dunn, Allan, *Care-free San Francisco*, S. F., 1913; English Club of Stanford University, *A year book of Stanford writing* (mimeographed), 1931; Field, C. K., *Prayer*, S. F., Book Club of Calif., 1921; Field, Sara Bard, *The great white Christ*, n. p., n. d. (autog.); Fuhrman, Earl, *More little tales retold*, 1926; Garnett, Porter, *The green knight*, S. F., Bohemian Club, 1921; Gidlow, Elsa, *California valley with girls*, S. F., priv. print., 1932; Grabhorn, Edwin, *The fine art of printing*, S. F., 1933; Harte, Bret, and Twain, Mark, *Sketches of the sixties*, S. F., 1926; Heath, Sarah R., *The Padre's little caretaker*, S. F., 1929; Heyneman, Julie H., *Arthur Putnam, sculptor*, S. F., 1932; Hibbard, Grace, *California sunshine*, S. F., 1911; Kay, E. H., *Trans-Pacific sonnets*, L. A., c. 1931 (autog.); Keeler, Charles, *Bird notes afield*, S. F. [1907]; MacDonald, A. S., comp., *Collection of verse by California poets*, S. F., 1914; Maybeck, B. R., *Palace of Fine Arts*, S. F., c. 1915; Moraga Society of Catholic Poets, *Anthology*, Berkeley, c. 1932 (autog. by Brother Leo); Muir, John, *Thousand-mile walk to the Gulf*, Boston, 1916; Murphy, Mrs. D. J., *Silk culture industry of California*, n. p., n. d.; Nazare, F., *Scribbling on the tablecloth*, S. F., 1926; Norris, Kathleen, *My San Francisco*, N. Y., 1932; Norton, Dan, *Malice in Wonderland*, c. 1932; Panama Pacific International Exposition, *Catalogue Dept. of Fine Arts*, S. F., 1915; Idem, *Catalogue of the art room in the Oregon Building*, Portland, 1915; Phelan, James D., *Travel and Comment*, S. F., 1923; Reedy, W. M., *The city that has fallen*, S. F., Book Club of Calif., 1933; Ryder, A. W., *Women's eyes*, S. F., 1927; S. F. Art Association, *Catalogue of Post-Exhibition exhibition*, S. F., 1916; Idem, *Catalogue forty-fifth annual exhibition*, S. F., 1921; Sill, E. R., *The hermitage and later poems*, Boston, 1891; Idem, *Poems*, Boston, 1893; Smith, Clark A., *Double shadow* [Auburn, 1933] (autog.); Steele, Rufus, *The fall of Ug*, S. F., 1913; Idem, *The city that is*, S. F., 1909; Stellman, L. J., *Mate o' dreams*, Oberlin, O., c. 1931; Stoddard, C. W., *A bit of old China*, S. F., 1912; Idem, *Diary of a visit to Molokai*, S. F., Book Club of Calif., 1933; Studdert Kennedy, H. A., *Hoover in 1932*, S. F., c. 1931; Sutro, Adolph, *Letter to the Regents of the University of California . . . on the selection of a site for the Affiliated Colleges* [S. F., 1895]; Taylor, Bayard, *At home and abroad*, N. Y., 1866; Taylor, E. R., *In the Court of the Ages*, S. F., 1915; University of California, *In memory of Benjamin Ide Wheeler*, Berkeley, 1908; Urmy, Clarence, *A vintage of verse*, S. F., Doxey, 1897; White Lynn T., *David Duncan*, Nov. 3, 1863, Oct. 3, 1932; Wierzbicki, F. P., *California as it is & as it may be*, S. F., Grabhorn, 1933; Williams, C. L., *Fourth dimensional reaches of the Exposition*, S. F., c. 1915; and others.

From MRS. EDNA B. BUCKBEE—Buckbee, Edna B., *Pioneer days of Angel's Camp*, Angel's Camp, c. 1932 (autog.).

From MISS FANNY J. CHIPMAN and MR. W. F. CHIPMAN—*Our centennial memoir. Founding of the Missions. San Francisco de Assis in its hundredth year . . . Historical reminiscences of the Missions of California*, San Francisco, 1877, containing orations of John W. Dwinelle and General Vallejo, and corrections in Dwinelle's handwriting.

From COMMONWEALTH CLUB OF CALIFORNIA—*Commonwealth Club Transactions*, Vol. VIII, No. 6, containing "Sources of California history"; Pillsbury, A. J., *A further study of direct legislation* (mimeographed).

From DOUBLEDAY DORAN & COMPANY—Norris, Kathleen, *My California*, N. Y., 1933.

From MR. WILLIAM WARREN FERRIER—Ferrier, W. W., *Berkeley, California*, published by the author, Berkeley, 1933 (autog.); Idem, *Origin and development of the University of California*, Berkeley, c. 1930 (autog.).

From MR. WALTER L. HUBER—Huber, W. L., *San Francisco earthquakes of 1865 and 1868*, reprinted from the *Bulletin* of the Seismological Society of America, Dec. 1930.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M. D.—Bonner, T. D., *Life and adventures of James P. Beckwourth*, Los Angeles, c. 1932.

From S. F. HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING—*Cap and Seal*, 1933.

From MRS. MELVILLE SCHWEITZER—Newmark, Harris, *Sixty years in Southern California*, Boston, 1930.

From DR. H. A. VAN COENEN TORCHIANA—Torchiana, H. A. van C., *Story of the Mission Santa Cruz*, S. F., Paul Elder, 1933 (autog.).

From MR. D. Q. TROY—O'Day, E. F., and Wilke, W., *Old San Francisco*, reprinted from *The News*, 1933.

From UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS—Bolton, H. E., trans., *Font's complete diary*, Berkeley, 1933; Academy of Pacific Coast History *Publications*, Vols. I to V (bound).

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Wagner, H. R., *Spanish exploration in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*, Santa Ana, 1933 (autog.).

From MR. ROBERT WALSH—Board of Engineers Transbay Bridge, *Report*, S. F., 1927; Calif. State Dept. of Public Works, *Water resources of California*, Sacramento, 1923; Idem. *Irrigation requirements of California lands*, Sacramento, 1923; Santa Fe Passenger Dept., *San Francisco*, Chicago, 1902; *San Francisco street and avenue directory*, c. 1900.

From MRS. FRANCIS WILLIAMS—*California poets, an anthology*, foreword by Helen Hoyt, N. Y., Henry Harrison, c. 1932.

From MR. STEPHEN WILLIAMS—Bartlett, Virginia S., *Mistress of Monterey*, Indianapolis, 1933.

From MR. E. A. WILTSEE—*Franks of Hunter & Co's Express*, reprinted from *Collector's Club Philatelist*, July, 1933 (autog.).

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Browne, Martha F. R., *The Golden Gate and its old fort*, S. F., Colonial Dames of America, 1933.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

From AUTOMOBILE CLUB OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, Phil Townsend Hanna, editor—*Touring Topics*, subscription beginning July, 1933. (Name to be changed to *Westways*.)

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—*Art and Progress*, Aug. 1915, special Exposition number; *Harper's Weekly*, May 12, 1906; *Overland Monthly*, May, 1932 (Jack London number).

From CALIFORNIA STATE PRISON, San Quentin—*The Bulletin*, subscription beginning Oct. 1933.

From MR. F. A. THOMAS—*Virginia Chronicle*, Nov. 19, 1885.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Large portrait (in crayon) of Fray Junipero Serra and Indians, by Ramos-Martinez (framed); 3 photographs of Ansel E. Adams of murals by Diego Rivera in the home of Mrs. Sigmund Stern, and 2 of Piazzoni's murals in the S. F. Public Library; photographs of Maud Allen, Mary Austin, Carl Oscar Borg (autog.), Wig-

ginton Creed, David L. Lezinsky, P. N. Lilienthal, Arthur F. Mathews (autog.), Mrs. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt (autog.), Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Stackpole (from a drawing by Diego Rivera), Art Class of C. L. S. C., at Pacific Grove, about 1900; 11 photographs taken at Bohemian Grove; photographs of California desert, Palm Springs, San Francisco after the earthquake and fire of 1906, triple launching at Moore Shipbuilding Yard, March 14, 1918, and others; large French map: "Nouvelle carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale dressee sur les plus nouvelles observations de Messieurs de l'Academie des Sciences," made probably bet. 1700 and 1750; printed reproduction (in color) of "Marigolds and Primroses" by Anne Bremer.

From MRS. AVIS YATES BROWNLEE—Photograph of Michigan Bar, Sacramento Co., 1926, and several views of San Juan Bautista.

From MRS. L. CURRAN CLARK—Two photographs of the old John Taylor residence on California St., San Francisco.

From MISS ROSALIE HARBY—Large photograph: "Mr. C. P. Huntington's Reception, Tuesday, May 1st, 1888, Palace Hotel, San Francisco."

From MRS. FLORENCE DEMING HARLEY—Large photograph showing troops from Spanish-American War, marching up Market St., San Francisco, 1899.

From MRS. ALICE F. HOLDEN—A pencil sketch and 6 water color sketches and wash drawings by William H. Hilton.

From MISS FRANCES M. MOLERA—Photograph of a lithograph of Monterey, 1842.

From MR. JED SCOTT—Large framed photograph of Santa Clara County Pioneers, with names.

From MR. ROBERT WALSH—Photographs: Crocker residence after S. F. fire of 1906 (framed); St. Anthony's Church and School about 1894.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Photograph of a page from the register of Carson City Lodge, F. & A. M., showing signature of "Sam. L. Clemens, Polar Star No. 79, St. Louis, Mo."; 2 medals expressing sympathy of France after S. F. fire of 1906; small replica of spade used by Pres. Taft in ground-breaking ceremonies of P. P. I. E., 1911; Tribute to John Galloway, written by E. F. O'Day and printed by J. H. Nash, 1932; reproduction of Gelett Burgess' drawing of "The Purple Cow"; invitations, programs, etc.

From MR. F. M. DE WITT—Printed list of members of California Historical Society, May 1, 1886.

From MRS. HENRY CLARENCE LOVERIDGE—MS records of the service of her father, Col. Orlando Hurley Moore, from 1856-65, and other data about the Moore family.

From MR. M. HALL McALLISTER—Agreement between General Funston and M. H. McAllister regarding use of cargoes of steamers *Itauri* and *Hermonthos* for earthquake and fire sufferers, San Francisco, 1906.

From MRS. MELVILLE SCHWEITZER—Framed photograph of small French broadside, "California Cie. des Mines d'Or."

From MR. F. A. THOMAS—Miner's candlestick from the old "City of Six" mine, near Downieville.

From MR. D. Q. TROY—Two election tickets, Santa Cruz County, 1879.

From MR. E. A. WILTSEE—A horse's snowshoe, from near Westville on the Forest Hill Divide.

LOANS

From MR. WILLIAM C. LATHAM—Topographical and railroad map of the central part of the State of California and part of the State of Nevada. Compiled 1865 from railroad surveys, U. S. Public Land surveys, U. S. Coast surveys, California State Geological Survey (Prof. J. D. Whitney), and from reliable private surveys; and published by C. Bielawski, J. D. Hoffman and A. Poett.

From MR. EDWIN H. FRICKE—Figurehead, possibly from the brig *Natalia*, wrecked at Monterey in 1834.

IN MEMORIAM

FREDERICK WORTHEN BRADLEY

By the death of Mr. F. W. Bradley on July 6, California lost a mining engineer whose career and record are definitely related to an important era of California's history.

Mr. Bradley was born in Nevada County in 1863, a time when gold production there was at its peak. He inherited his engineering talent from his father, a graduate in Civil Engineering from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and his environment determined for him the field of usefulness wherein to apply his inherited talent. His father and mother were both California pioneers, and so it can be truly said that Mr. Bradley was a real part of California's glorious past as well as a leader in recent years.

Mr. Bradley attended the University of California in the early eighties but was compelled to leave college before graduation to take care of a family left dependent because of the death of his father. Necessity thenceforth developed a great application for work, which, coupled with great talent and integrity, widened Mr. Bradley's field of endeavor, extended his acquaintance and led to the management of some of the most important mining engineering work in western America.

His standing as a leader of his profession was recognized in many ways—he had conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of California, and was elected to the presidency of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers. He was also selected as the recipient of the Saunders Medal, a mark of distinction conferred only on engineers of highest standing. He was an outstanding citizen, taking part in all civic enterprises, and lived up to his ideal of good citizenship with the same thoroughness and sincerity that he used in the practice of his profession.

EDWIN R. DIMOND

Mr. Edwin R. Dimond, long a member of the California Historical Society, passed away May 30, 1933, at his home in San Francisco at the age of 66 years from a heart attack, following an illness which had forced his retirement from active business several years since.

He was born in Springfield, Mass., and as a boy came to San Francisco with his father, the late Gen. W. H. Dimond, one of the founders of the famed shipping firm of Williams, Dimond & Co.

After receiving his education at the Lincoln and Trinity Schools in San Francisco, he entered the shipping business with his father's firm and continued with it as an executive until a few years ago. Mr. Dimond was one of the organizers of the American Hawaiian Steamship Company for which Williams, Dimond & Co. became the managing agents.

Mr. Dimond was a member of the Pacific Union, Bohemian and Family Clubs; and of the latter he was one of the founders.

Mrs. Harriet Newton Dimond, his widow, and two sisters, Mrs. Joseph Sadoc Tobin and Mrs. Eleanor D. Jarboe, survive him.

In addition to the prominent place Mr. Dimond occupied in the shipping world and in club life his interest in the history of California must be noted. By his death San Francisco has lost a widely known and greatly beloved citizen.

ANNIE KING DUTTON

One of the closest links of the California Historical Society to the pioneer days of our state was severed with the passing of Mrs. Samuel Edwards Dutton—the daughter of James King of William and Charlotte Libbey King. She was born at Georgetown, D. C., January 17, 1849, and died in San Francisco, November 11, 1933.

Her father sent for his family in 1851, and they arrived on the *Tennessee*, May 20, 1851, coming via Panama. This adventurous little girl of two tumbled overboard on the Chagres River, sank, and as she came up her mother clutched her by the hair and dragged her into the rowboat.

Her first home was on Jones and Lombard, then the family moved in 1853 to Stockton near Pacific, and then really out into the country, now Market and Fifth streets where Hale's store at present stands.

Several years after her father's death, her grandmother Libbey, in Georgetown, sent word to the grief-stricken mother that she wanted "the most troublesome child" sent back to her "to raise and educate," so little Annie, now eleven made the return trip, via Panama. Her grandmother sent her to that famous school in Georgetown presided over by Miss English. As a little girl of twelve she heard the guns of Bull Run. When she was sixteen she returned to her family in California.

Her whole sympathy was with the South and she declared she would never marry a Northerner. But at nineteen she married Samuel Edwards Dutton, who was born in Bangor, Maine.

In 1898 she went back to Washington and Georgetown, and in the years following traveled much, but the outbreak of the last European war sent her back to San Francisco.

She affiliated herself with the California Historical Society and with others which concerned themselves with the early days of her beloved city.

She left three daughters: Mrs. Charlotte Dutton Bowes, Mrs. Louise Dutton French, Mrs. Edna Dutton Moore, and a large circle of relatives and a legion of friends.

It is impossible to think of Mrs. Dutton as inactive in the life to which she has gone. Not only was she active in body, but her wonderful mind was as clear to the end as was her father's when he wrote his stirring editorials. Young and old were devoted to her. No one ever thought of her age. At the time of her death she was the oldest member of the First Congregational Church.

She was sick only a few days, and on one of these said to a beloved niece, who was bending over her, "This may be the end, and I think it is. Pray that I go quickly." And she did. So though no one can take her place, we can but rejoice that her wish was granted.

FLORIDE GREEN.